University of Alberta

Bereznianka: Becoming Symbolic

by

Vincent Arthur Rees ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

in

Ukrainian Folklore

Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies

Edmonton, Alberta
Fall 2008

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Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-46977-4
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-46977-4

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Abstract

Ukrainian folk dances change as they move from their earliest recorded context, a particular place in Ukraine, to the context of the Ukrainian Canadian stage dance community. This thesis focuses on one particular dance, *Bereznianka*. *Bereznianka* has gone through several stages of development, first in Ukraine and later in Canada.

I classify these choreographic variants as "standard," "adaptation" and "remnant." "Standard" variations involve an attempt at being faithful to the established composition by Klara Balog and Pavlo Virsky. "Adaptation" variations involve changing the established dance while maintaining a strong connection to *Bereznianka*. "Remnant" variations involve a great deal of change, with only a few key elements of the "standard" *Bereznianka* remaining. I explore several factors influencing instructors as they choose to make a "standard," "adaptation" or "remnant" variation in a given situation. This dance has become a key symbol of Transcarpathian Ukrainian dance.

Acknowledgements

To Andriy Nahachewsky for helping me understand that this thesis is not only about *Bereznianka* or even Ukrainian dance but rather it's about understanding, knowing, evaluating and thinking about the world and how we live, move, breathe and interact within it. Andriy, I also thank you for your patience and perseverance.

To my students and my teachers in the world of Ukrainian dance. Sometimes I cannot tell you apart, for you both inspired and guided me on this road trip of discovery.

To Brian, Nadya and Maria for countless favors, patience and putting up with my endless queries and making this experience more fun I could have expected.

To Les, who provided technical support for this thesis and who was a constant sounding board throughout this process.

To Sasha, who supported me in many ways and made buckets of tea during my writing.

To my parents and family who have always supported and encouraged me.

To Klara Balog and my many other informants who assisted me in peeling off the layers of stage folk dance. Your openness and generosity was great and I thank you.

Finally, to the people from the county of Velykyi Bereznyi, who unknowingly had a large impact on the Ukrainian dance scene in Ukraine and Canada and rarely receive any mention.

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Introduction

> An ethnographer seeks to distill the essence of a people, a poetic sense of the wonder of who they are, the unique qualities that allow them to live, the pressures and challenges that urge them forward.
> Wade Davis[1]

As ethnographer Wade Davis suggests in the above quotation, dances have unique qualities that allow them to "live." As with individual people and cultures in general, it can be said metaphorically that they experience pressures and challenges that encourage their change and evolution. The dance *Bereznianka* has lived, lives and may continue to do so but perhaps in a continually changing form. I have attempted, in this thesis, to distill the essence of the dance *Bereznianka* as it floats down the river of culture.

Bereznianka is the name of a stage dance by well-known choreographer Klara Balog, Artistic Director of the Transcarpathian State Folk Dance Ensemble of Ukraine. This stage dance has become very popular in Canada as well. This thesis will focus on how this dance has changed from its original context, as a "dance-like activity" during weddings in the villages in the area around Velykyi Bereznyi, across Ukraine and in Canada. Each time the dance *Bereznianka* moved from one context to a new one, it passed through a series of filters. By analyzing the contexts in which instructors stage *Bereznianka* and comparing how the forms change I will show how these movements shifted from something unselfconscious and naturally occurring to something more self-conscious, national and symbolic of Transcarpathian Ukrainian folk culture.

In Canada, and specifically in the province of Alberta, where I completed much of my research, there are thousands of individuals who participate in Ukrainian staged folk

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[1] Wade Davis, *Light at the Edge of the World*, p.6 (Vancouver/Toronto, Douglas & McIntyre, 2002).

dance every year. This Ukrainian Canadian community is the result of several waves of immigration to Canada, which began in the late 19th century and continues to this day.[2] The resulting population provides the base for the creation of hundreds of Ukrainian dance clubs. In Alberta alone there are over 80 Ukrainian dance organizations, and throughout Canada there are approximately 260 with annual participation numbering around ten thousand participants.[3]

A large percentage of the participants in Ukrainian Canadian dance are third and fourth generation Canadians. Many are of Ukrainian heritage, though many others are of mixed ancestry, and some are not Ukrainian at all by birth. In general, however, Ukrainian dance has a strong heritage component in Canada, being a vehicle for connecting with the dancers' past. The Ukrainian language is not spoken in most dancers' homes and Ukrainian dance may be one of the only connections to their cultural roots. Although Ukrainian dance in Canada has gone through several phases, many clubs continue to exist with the purpose of "preserving" and promoting Ukrainian culture through dance. Balancing with this desire for preservation, community activities reveal an intense desire to be creative and innovative. This exploration of *Bereznianka* reveals the results of tension between these contrasting desires for "tradition" and innovation.

Bereznianka is danced at least once in some form or another by almost every member of the Ukrainian dance community. It is performed with its original cast of eight couples but also as a solo, duet, or sometimes as an all-female dance. *Bereznianka* may

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[2] Orest T. Martynowych. *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1991).

[3] Kim Nahachewsky, *Alberta Ukrainian Dance: A Look at the Need to Develop Province Wide Resources* (Edmonton: Alberta Ukrainian Dance Association, 1983).

be danced now by any group between the ages of approximately ten and seventy years old. It may be learned as a training exercise, as a complete dance, or as part of a dance suite.

The diverse current manifestations reveal what is important to the people who are involved in this activity. Understanding the processes by which *Bereznianka* has changed reveals one trajectory of adaptation to the new environment. Other dances can also be examined to see if they followed this same trajectory or followed alternate paths.

It is commonly assumed that *Bereznianka* shares a distant relationship with a village dance or folkloric event, but what exactly is that relationship? How do those who perform, create and watch these dances interact with the source? *Bereznianka* now exists in a community where it grows, evolves and changes while the original dance remains only a distant relative. I will show how this dance is now only symbolically traditional. This symbolic connection with the traditional world of peasants in Ukraine however, remains important to the current Ukrainian Canadian dance community.

It would be prudent for me to clarify my personal relationship with the Ukrainian Canadian dance community and introduce my methodological process. I grew up in the Ukrainian dance community in Victoria B.C., which was based in the hall of St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church. I started in 1978 at the age of four. Being shy, I apparently refused to participate. Eventually I became comfortable and joined the class of my first instructors Kim Osowetski and Gene Lyon. There were times when I wanted to quit due to peer pressure from the outside and from within the club but those challenges were somehow overcome. The dance club became like a family and a place where many friends were made. My parents' friends, it seemed, were also all within the club. I am

confident that they were not all Ukrainian but were participating in the grassroots cultural spirit of the times. We had live music for every rehearsal including a flute, violin, guitar, piano and mandolin, which contributed to the good feeling and community atmosphere.

My *dido* [grandfather] passed away when I was young but *baba* [grandmother] was always a special person to me and seemed to connect me with some kind of cultural roots. Although Ukrainian identity was at least partially important for my mother's side of the family, I suspect that instilling cultural concepts in me was something they valued strongly. I also suspect that my family would have supported me if was interested in Filipino or Irish culture. My instructor Gene Lyon encouraged my parents to enroll me in ballet and jazz. This quickly became overwhelming and I was doing ballet and jazz tap, break dance, modern and musical theatre. Eventually the scheduling became a nightmare. After a couple of years I settled on doing Ukrainian dance only.

Family vacations consisted of dance club trips to Vancouver, Seattle and California. One particular trip that solidified the "coolness" of participation in Ukrainian dance was a 1988 trip to the Vegreville Pysanka Festival and Festival '88, a celebration of 1000 years of Christianity in Ukraine. The performances were powerful and emotional and this experience definitely galvanized my passion for Ukrainian dance and culture. Soon after, I began an annual trek to Alberta for the exciting lakeside Ukrainian dance camps organized by the Alberta Ukrainian Dance Association. Our instructor, Taras Sumka, who had recently spent some time studying dance at Studio Virsky in Ukraine, regaled us with stories about living in such an exotic place. Although many of us had been doing Ukrainian dance for years and years, we knew very little about what Ukraine

was actually like. I remember being awed and inspired with the idea of living and dancing in Ukraine.

At sixteen I became a junior teacher in Victoria, first helping with the younger children and later instructing almost the entire club. In 1992 I moved to Edmonton to dance with the Ukrainian Shumka Dancers and have been dancing and instructing ever since. I began to travel to Ukraine to study dance in the early 1990s and although I did not learn *Bereznianka* at that time, I did have the opportunity to meet Klara Balog. Klara was a guest instructor at the Avramenko Institute of Ukrainian Folk Dance in Lviv. I had first learned *Bereznianka* at summer dance camps in Canada and remember being suspicious about the origin of these "new" dances. In the early years, the Ukrainian stage dance community had focused on mostly dances from the regions of Hutsul and Poltava, while dances from other regions like Transcarpathia had only arrived more recently.

I was continually inspired to learn more from my instructors, from the first ones to those that I met in Ukraine. I became convinced that the instructor is the link between the culture and student – between the culture and the dance. The instructor is always the "keeper of the flame" whose role is to keep the fire burning. For this reason, I have chosen to understand *Bereznianka* through the agency of instructors. In addition to years of personal observation and participation as a dancer, I have conducted interviews with instructors in Ukraine and in Canada. The interviews were largely unstructured and followed a conversational style with the goal of understanding the history, evolution and meaning of this dance. I have also collected many video representations of *Bereznianka* in various contexts, which are available in Appendix C.

In Chapter I, I discuss the context from which *Bereznianka* originated. Velykyi Bereznyi is a town and regional centre in western Transcarpathia. I briefly explore the world from within which the dance *Bereznianka* originated.[4] A short history of Transcarpathia, and the people who have inhabited it, provides an understanding of the people in this part of Europe and how this may impact the dance. Next I try to bring the reader to understanding the psychology and mentality of the peasants who danced this dance. An understanding of peasants is fruitful especially when contrasted in later chapters with urban Ukrainians in Transcarpathia, in Ukraine's capital Kyiv, and also Canadians. While engaging in traditional dance contexts, peasants are conscious of their friends and family their immediate surroundings. Peasants are concerned with their own aesthetics while dancing, which is quite different from the aesthetics of urbanites and stage folk dancers.

Peasants dance occasions are many and varied. *Bereznianka* was inspired by a wedding procession. This procession can be seen as the beginning of the inspiration, which stays through the entire existence of this dance from its beginnings in the area around Velykyi Bereznyi to its continued evolution in Canada. Here we see the origins of the music, the costumes, and the props. The variants of the dance *Bereznianka* that we see performed in Canada contrast strongly with the "dance-like activity" executed during a wedding procession in late 19th century western Transcarpathia. In order to provide another dimension to the understanding, I describe a contemporary Velykyi Bereznyi wedding which I observed during my fieldwork.

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[4] The term region in Ukrainian dance is reserved for separating the various ethnographic groups throughout Ukraine. In addition there is the administrative term "raion" (region), which I will translate as "county" in English.

In Chapter II, I examine the *Bereznianka* as it was developed into a stage dance for the Transcarpathia Ensemble in the provincial capital of Uzhhorod and then moved to the Virsky Ensemble in Kyiv. By examining the dance and the two Artistic Directors, Klara Balog and Pavlo Virsky, we see a sharp contrast with the previous chapter and the previous context.

A general overview of stage folk dance under the Soviet government provides the context for understanding Klara Balog and her approach to ethnographic research and choreography. Socialist realism was the artistic policy of the Soviet Union at the time. It permeated folk representation in dance and remains with us to a great extent even to this day. Pavlo Virsky was a master of applying socialist realism to Ukrainian dance and his legacy can be seen in the development of *Bereznianka.* I will examine several ways of reviving folk dance. In this study, I define folk dance as the dance of peasants or those dances that have been inspired by peasant dances.

In Chapter III, we return to the area where my research began, in Alberta Canada. Beginning with a brief overview of Ukrainians in Canada, I begin to highlight the various streams that flow into the river of Ukrainian dance in Canada. Understanding Ukrainian dance in Canada is like understanding parts of this river. We must look at where and when the tributaries enter and what specific characteristics they possess. Each manifestation of *Bereznianka* is like a bucket of water filled up from this river combining elements accumulated from each tributary that has joined the river upstream. While some scholars have delineated the chronological order of Ukrainian dance in Canada, I chart four tributaries that have flowed into this river of dance. Further down stream, once the river has incorporated the tributaries, it is difficult to separate them. This chapter looks at

several variants of *Bereznianka* that have been pulled like buckets from this river and attempts to understand each variant. How does the form of *Bereznianka* change as it gets further from its source and what are the sources of each contributing tributary? The changes in meaning and purpose of this dance are reflected in the form of the dance but also in the music, costumes and props. Some forces changing the dance are very tangible, while other forces are less obvious.

In Chapter IV, I engage in a discussion of ownership as it impacts the changes that occur to *Bereznianka*. Who does this dance belong to and who has the "right" to create variants of the dance? Once we understand how the dance *Bereznianka* has changed in Ukraine and Canada, I attempt to itemize the tangible and intangible forces that effect the change.

Ultimately *Bereznianka* has gone through many mutations. The context of early *Bereznianka* manifestations is markedly different from the context of Alberta 2008. *Bereznianka* has moved from something unmarked, natural, authentic and non-discrete to something symbolic, iconic and representative.

A "symbol" is a thing conventionally regarded as typifying, representing, or recalling semething, especially an idea or quality.[5] Similarly, according to folklorist Edith Turner's definition, "A symbol has two components – a solid, visible, or otherwise sensory sign and the idea to which it points."[6]

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[5] Della Thompson, ed., *The Oxford Modern English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, p.1048 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

[6] Edith Turner, "Anthropology Symbolic," in Thomas A. Green, *Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Beliefs, Customs, Tales, Music, and Art*, p.25 (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO); see also Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz, "Semiotic Approach," In J. H. Brunvand, ed., *American Folklore: An Encyclopedia*, pp. 656-657 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996).

Bereznianka is a symbol. It has become famous and well established within the Ukrainian stage dance community. In the case of *Bereznianka*, the signifier is the physical dance in space and time. The signified was initially village weddings in the county of Velykyi Bereznyi. As we shall see throughout the thesis, both the signifier and the signified vary quite a lot in their different settings.

Chapter I - Velykyi Bereznyi*: Dancing to its own Tune*

Context

History of Transcarpathia

Transcarpathia or [*Zakarpattia*] is the only portion of modern-day Ukraine that lies west of the the Carpathian mountain range (therefore "beyond the Carpathians" from the perspective of the rest of Ukraine) in the northeast corner of the Pannonian Basin. This Pannonian Basin was where the Urgo-Finnic Magyars settled in 896AD and became the foundation for the Hungarian people. The Slavic, White Croatian, colonization of this area began in the second century and eventually came under the influence of Kyivan Rus' in the 10th century. The current population of ethnic Lemkos, Boikos and Hutsuls are believed to have begun settling in the Carpathian area between the 11th and 13th centuries.[7] Immigration began slowly at first as herders came from Galicia and Bukovyna over the mountain passes to graze.[8] From the word Rus', some of the people of this area became known as Ruthenians, Rusyn or Rusnaks.[9] However, for the rest of this thesis, I will refer to this population as Ukrainians.

In the following centuries, Transcarpathia was besieged as Tatar armies came through the mountain passes and moved against Hungary. Transcarpathia was along a major trading route and was often contested, primarily between Hungary, Transylvania and Austria. Transcarpathia also experienced the colonization movements of the Austrians from the west and the Wallachians (Romanians/Moldavians) from the

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[7] Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1988).
[8] The Rusyn's, Bonkalo
[9] Paul Robert Magocsi, *Ukraine: A Historical Atlas* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

southeast. For a long time Transcarpathia was controlled by the Ottoman Empire, but after 1740 it became part of the Austrian Empire. Between the two world wars, Transcarpathia fell under the jurisdiction of Czechoslovakia. During the period of World War II, Transcarpathia declared independence. It was governed by Hungary then became part of Soviet Ukraine in 1944.[10] Transcarpathia remained part of Ukraine when Ukrainian independence was declared in 1991.

Ukrainians in Transcarpathia never had a significant social elite and the majority of the Ukrainian speaking population historically consisted of peasants. Although the peasants in the lowlands of Transcarpathia were subjected to serfdom, the mountainous dwellers, including those in Velykyi Bereznyi, were not. The primary religions in this area were Byzantine Orthodoxy and Greek Catholicism. Agriculture has historically been the main economic source for the region as well as animal husbandry in the vast pastureland. Logging and milling, orchards and vineyards have also been significant.[11]

Figure 1. Photo - Entering town of Velykyi Bereznyi
All photos were taken by the author unless otherwise stated.

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[10] Ibid.

[11] P.T. Tron'ko, ed., *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrains'koi RSR, Zakarpats'ka oblast'* [History of towns and villages of Ukrainian RSR, Province of Transcarpathia] p.168 (Kyiv: Institute of History, Academy of Sciences, 1970).

In the *oblast'* [province] of Transcarpathia, located in the southwestern corner of Ukraine, one can find the county of Velykyi Bereznyi. This county is situated in the northwest corner of the Transcarpathia where the geography climbs to the higher reaches towards the Uzok Pass in the Carpathian Mountain range. This range begins to the northwest in southern Poland and northern Slovakia and cuts sharply in an arch southward through Ukrainian territory, and curls sharply southward into the Romanian countryside. There are several towns and villages that make up this sparsely settled area, including the regional centre of Velykyi Bereznyi, the village of Liuta and others.[12] These villages are nestled on the southern slopes of the Carpathians. The climate is such that the vegetation is less abundant here than in the regions to the south. The town of Velykyi Bereznyi has a population of about 6,600 and the village of Liuta has 4,208 according to the 1988 census.[13]

Many villages lay in a string formation along the river Uzh that briskly winds its way out of the mountains and down towards the provincial capital of Uzhhorod. A railway makes its way south to Uzhhorod and north through the Uzhok pass to the town of Stryi, onto Lviv and beyond. Highway traffic through the area is light as a major highway from Lviv to Mukachevo and onto Budapest passes through a lower valley to the southeast. Velykyi Bereznyi is a border town only a few kilometres from Slovakia to

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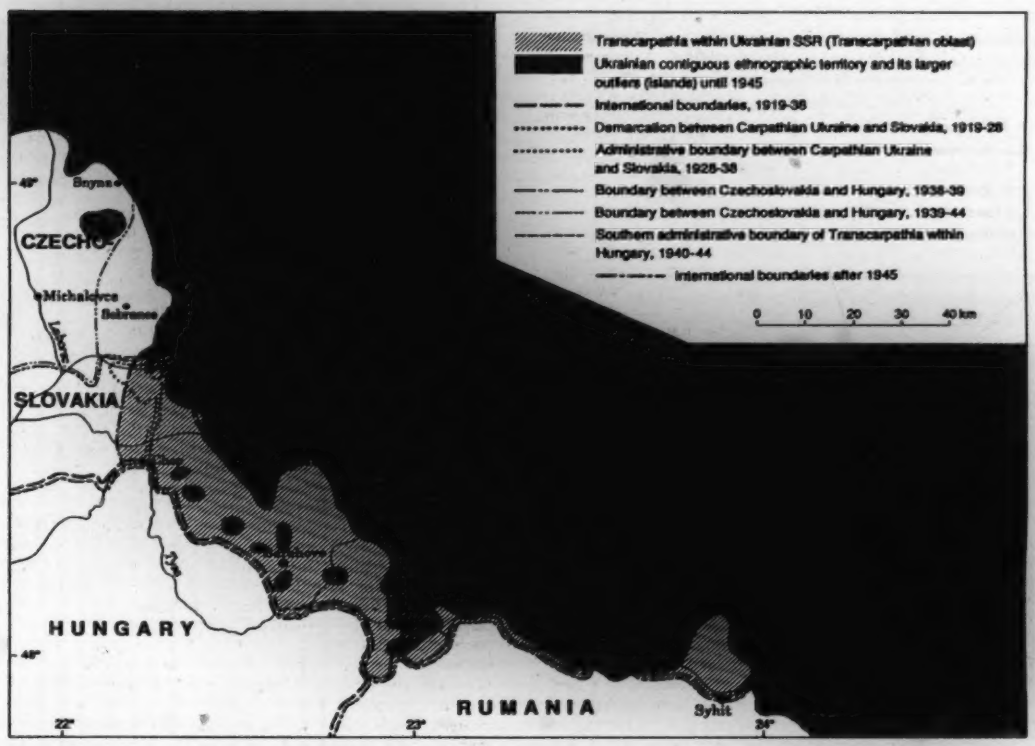
[12] I specifically mention the village of Liuta, because this is the location where the "dance-like activity" that became the dance ***Bereznianka*** was observed.

[13] P.T. Tron'ko, ed., *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrains'koi RSR, Zakarpats'ka oblast'* [History of towns and villages of Ukrainian RSR, Province of Transcarpathia] p.168 (Kyiv: Institute of History, Academy of Sciences, 1970).

its west. Liuta, the village where *Bereznianka* was inspired, is located higher in the mountains near the river Liutianky.[14]


Transcarpathia within Ukrainian SSR (Transcarpathian oblast)
Ukrainian contiguous ethnographic territory and its larger outliers (islands) until 1945
International boundaries, 1919-38
Demarcation between Carpathian Ukraine and Slovakia, 1919-28
Administrative boundary between Carpathian Ukraine and Slovakia, 1928-38
Boundary between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, 1938-39
Boundary between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, 1939-44
Southern administrative boundary of Transcarpathia within Hungary, 1940-44
International boundaries after 1945
0 10 20 30 40 km
CZECHO-
SLOVAKIA
HUNGARY
RUMANIA
Syhit
48°
22°
24°

TRANSCARPATHIA IN 1919–45

Figure 2. Map of Transcarpathia. Danylo Husar-Struk, ed., *Encyclopedia of Ukraine,* p. 261 (Toronto: University of Toronto, Vol. V. 1993).

Note the location of Velykyi Bereznyi in the northwest corner of the administrative province of Transcarpathia. Also note that ethnic Ukrainians are not dominant in all the territories within the province.

[14] Ibid, p. 180

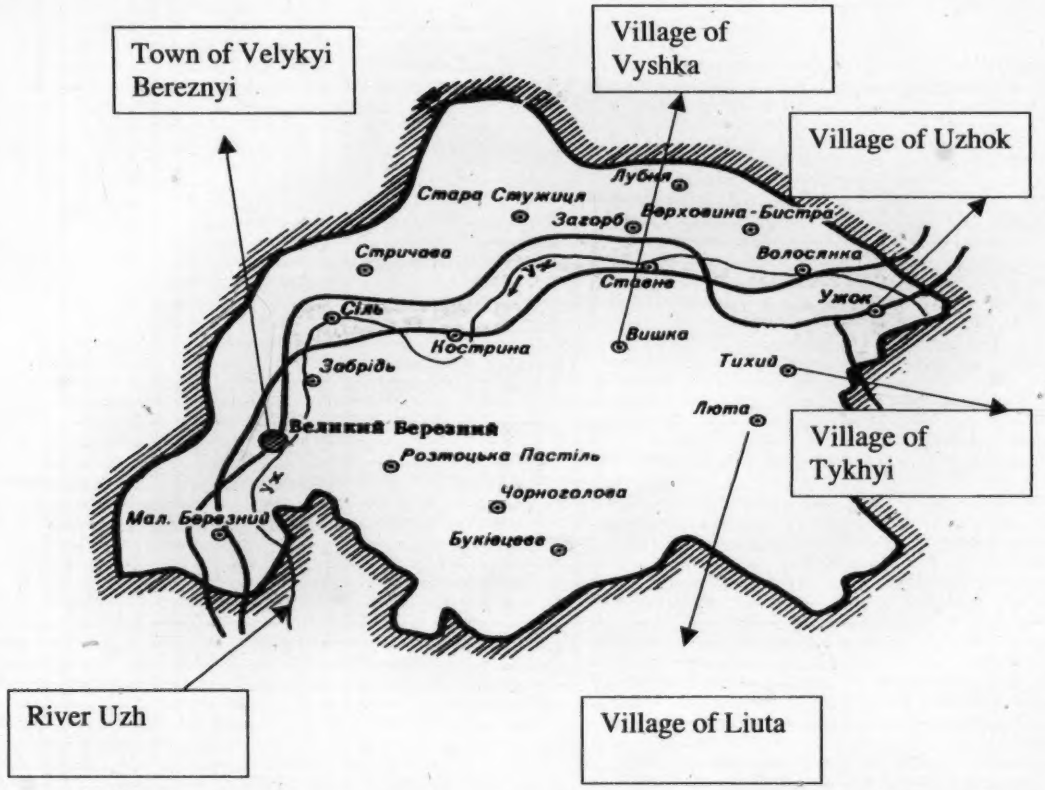


Figure 3. Map of County of Velykyi Bereznyi. P.T. Tron'ko, ed., *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrains'koi RSR, Zakarpats'ka oblast'* [History of towns and villages of Ukrainian RSR, Province of Transcarpathia] p.168 (Kyiv: Institute of History, Academy of Sciences, 1970).

The administrative boundaries of the province and counties considered so far are not the only way in which people here identify themselves. Traditionally, local populations identify themselves as members of their village or town and sometimes with their regional centre. My experience reveals that the people in and around Velykyi Bereznyi consider themselves Highlanders [*Verkhovyntsi*]. In the 20th and 21st centuries they may consider themselves Transcarpathians, Ruthenians and/or Ukrainians. It would be akin to asking someone who lives in Edmonton if he consider himself to be an Edmontonian, Albertan, Prairie person or a Canadian. All of these may apply, depending

on the situation. Aside from the Ukrainian population, Gypsies and Slovaks also live in Velykyi Bereznyi. Settlements with Jewish and Gypsy populations are also found nearby.

In the book *Boikivshchyna*, Iurii Hoshko clearly places Velykyi Bereznyi within the ethnographic Boiko region on a map.[15] While in the book *Lemkivshchyna* however, Ivan Hvozda lays claim to the territory of Velykyi Bereznyi as part of the Lemko region in a map.[16] In a third map of Ukraine, Roman Kyrchiv ascribes the area around Velykyi Bereznyi to the Transcarpathian cultural group.[17] Depending on the scholar then, this town ethnographically lies in the southeastern part of Lemko region and in the southwestern portion of Boiko region or the northwest portion of Transcarpathia.

Just a few kilometers to the south of Velykyi Bereznyi is small museum with a traditional house identified as Lemko style. On the other hand, at the Shevchenkiv'skyi Hai [Shevchenko's Meadow] Ukrainian architectural museum in Lviv, there are several structures transported from this particular area that are described as samples of Boiko architecture.

Dialect recognition is one way to identify an ethnographic group and the Lemko people can often be recognized by their speech.[18] In the Lemko dialect they make use of

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[15] Y. H. Hoshko, *Boikivshchyna: ictoriko-ethnografichne doslidzhennia,* [Boikivshchyna: historical and ethnographic studies] p.27 (Kyiv: Nayukova dumka, 1983).

[16] See inside cover of Hvozda, Ivan. *Lemkivshchyna u 2-x tomax, T.1: Material'nyi Kultura* [Lemkivshchyna in 2 volumes, volume 1: Material Culture] (Lviv: Institute Narodoznavstva HAH Ukraina, 1999).

[17] Roman Kyrchiv, *Iz fol'klornykh rehioniv Ukrainyi: narysy I statti* [From the folkloric regions of Ukraine: essays and articles] (Lviv: Institute Narodoznavstva NAN Ukrainy, 2002).

[18] D. H. Andrievs'kyi, *Atlas: Ukrainskoii movy, u triokh tomax* [Atlas of the Ukrainian language, in three volumes] p. 518 (Vol. 2, Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1988).

the insertion "lem" in a way similar to the way English speaking Canadians when they add "so" or "like" to their speech.

I suggest that this area retains elements of all three ethnographic regions. The borders of ethnographic regions are not exact. Indeed, ethnographic regions are a construct of folklorists, ethnographers and nation builders and therefore their boundaries may be fuzzy. In the last 100 years, connected partially with romantic nationalism, ethnographers have attempted to highlight the special differences and individual characteristics of each sub-ethnic group within a nation. (Their ultimate objective is invariably to demonstrate the deep unity of the nation through superficial regional differences.) Given its connection with romantic nationalism, the Ukrainian dance community has engaged a strong interest in regional variation in Ukrainian dance.

Figure 4. Photo – "Complexes of folk clothing of Transcarpathia" is displayed at the Ethnographic museum in Uzhhorod.
The outside boundaries of the map (and the museum's mandate) reflect the administrative boundaries of the province. The interior boundaries suggest ethnographic sub-divisions.

As can be seen in the above map, the political administrative territory of Transcarpathia is ethnically quite diverse with clear sub-regional variation. The residents of Transcarpathia are a combination of a nationalities and the administrative borders do not match the ethnographic sub-regions. In Canada, we often assume that the ethnographic and administrative areas are uniform. In area 2, the Rakhiv district in the southeast corner, the population is primarily Hutsul. In area 6, one can find a primarily Romanian population and in area 5 there is a large Hungarian population. These designations correspond somewhat with the map in Figure 2. According to Klara Balog, the county of Velykyi Bereznyi and the dances from this area are Lemko.[19]

Music & Dance in area around Velykyi Bereznyi

The most extensive available descriptions of dance in this area were written by Roman Harasymchuk. His unpublished monograph "*Lemkivs'ki tantsi*"[20] describes a large repertoire. In Velykyi Bereznyi, the most common musical genre has been the *chardash*. This detail will have a substantial influence on the movement repertoire of the people.[21]

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[19] Klara Balog, July 2006, Uzhhorod. Recorded Interview. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA 2008.025).
[20] Roman Harasymchuk, "*Lemkivs'ki tantsi*" [Lemko dances]. Unpublished manuscript, p. 19, (Lviv: Institut Narodoznavstva, 1951).
[21] Ibid. pp.150-152.

In Velykyi Bereznyi, the most common musical and dance form in recent generations is the *chardash*.[22] The *chardash* was a popular musical and dance form in the 19th and 20th centuries throughout the entire Carpathian Basin with Hungarian, Slovak, Romanian populations.[23] According to Haraczymchuk, Lemkos rarely dance the chardash, however it seems that he only had the opportunity to study the Lemko people from Poland and Galicia on the north side of the mountains.

> The dance "*chardash*" is basically danced only by the Lemko males, of course, in a line but not touching. They make use of different steps while at the same time using their arms, by clapping their hands and beating their hands on the inside of their boot. Lemkos dance the *chardash* very rarely. [24]

It is also interesting that he characterizes the dance as a male line dance, quite different from the *chardash*-type dances described by my informants for the Velekyi Bereznyi area, and different from *Bereznianka*. It seems that Harasymchuk did not conduct research specifically in the area of Velykyi Bereznyi, but made his general conclusions based on the Lemko people who were resettled in Galicia after World War II from the Lemko areas that are now part of Poland.

The *chardash* is not a stereotypical national Ukrainian musical form and most would generally associate the *chardash* with Hungarian national culture.[25] The *chardash* is a paired couples dance that consists of two people, facing each other and joining by the shoulders or the hips and stepping from side to side in a variety of patters while the

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[22] Vasyl Vasylovich, July, 2006, Velykyi Bereznyi. Recorded interview by Vincent Rees. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA 2008.025).

[23] Gyorgy Martin, "Performing Styles in the Dances of the Carpathian Basin" (Journal of the International Folk Music Council, Vol. 20 (1968): 59-64).

[24] Roman Harasymchuk, "*Lemkivs'ki tantsi*" [Lemko dances]. Unpublished manuscript, pp. 150-152, (Lviv: Institut Narodoznavstva, 1951).

[25] One of the best known "Csardas" is by Vittorio Monti written for violin and piano. It has 5 variations in tempo, and is quite virtuosic.

partners twist and turn and pivot their hips. The Rusyn *chardash* is a couples' dance with a slow and then contrasting fast tempo. It is derived from the Hungarian *csárdás*. The Rusyn style uses its own music and is characterized by more swaying along with lighter and more buoyant movement.[26] Its origins can be traced back to the 18th century Hungarian *verbunkos,* used as a recruiting dance by the Hungarian army. *Csárdás* is characterized by a variation in tempo: it starts out slowly (*lassú*) and ends in a very fast tempo (*friss*, literally "fresh"). The music is in 2/4 or 4/4 time.[27] *Chardash*es were often sung and one of them was the song that became the music for *Bereznianka*. The following was sung to me by Klara Balog. She said there were many other verses but could not remember them all.

De tirnia tam tirnia
avre meti pirnia
De tirnia tam tirnia
avre meti pirnia

Areminsky divochky
Ruzha bila levia
Orikhove zirnia x 2

Oreydu doreydu
Moye tishke krainia
Oreydu doreydu
Moye hishke krainia

A zamnoyu khloptsi idut'
Ruzha bila levia
Bo ya divka faina x 2[28]

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[26]Klara Balog, July 2006, Uzhhorod. Recorded Interview. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA 2008.025) and Jumba, Jerry J. "Csardash" Carpatho-Rusyn, 1997 <http://www.carpatho-rusyn.org/jerry.htm>

[27] Johnathon Bellman, "Csardas" In *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 6, 2nd ed., p.759 (Sadie, Standley. ed. New York, 2001).

[28] Klara Balog, July 2006, Uzhhorod. Recorded Interview. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA 2008.025).

It seems that there are may verses that could be added to this song and that it could be continued indefinitely. See Musical Section 1.

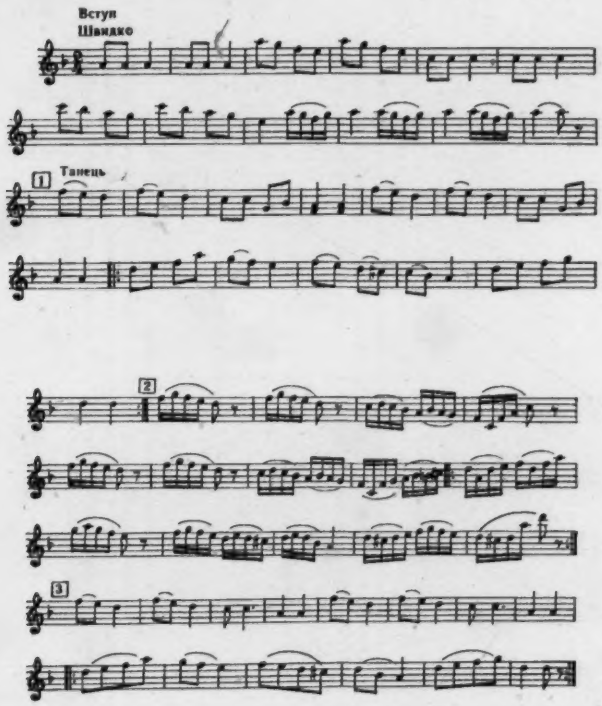

Figure 5. Musical Score for early version of *Bereznianka.* Andrii Humeniuk, *Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Tantsi* [Ukrainian folk dances] 2nd edition. pp. 577-588 (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka,1969).

The *chardash* is very full musical tradition that can be likened to the Ukrainian *kolomyika.* The *kolomyika* has a variety of melodies that follow the same basic musical structure. Words are put to these melodies as an expression of the people who sing them. There are special ones for certain occasions and new ones can be invented whenever one feels like it. A *chardash* may be sung for a short period of time or until the participants run out of verses to sing.

A Wedding in the county of Velykyi Bereznyi

Weddings in many cultures are very festive and joyous times for not only families but often for the entire village. Ukrainian weddings, as well as weddings celebrated by many other bordering Slavic and non-Slavic cultures, are well known for lasting three days and in some cases even longer. A Ukrainian wedding may be considered a highly ritualized drama that begins with the proposal. Major roles in this highly interactive drama are the bride and groom, starosty [elders],[29] bridesmaids and groomsman as well as the parents, musicians, the priest and guests. Much of the wedding ritual includes ancient customs, and even today, there are many superstitions and beliefs connected with the entire event.[30]

Many interesting events took place during the course of a Ukrainian wedding, but I will focus on the wedding procession for the purpose of this study. Many moments during traditional weddings required moving or transporting the bride, groom and guests from place to place. The first procession was the one where the *starosty* and the groom went to home of the bride to request the match and set the wedding date. Closer to the day of the ceremony, the bride and groom, usually with an entourage, each made their way around the village symbolically inviting the guests. On the day of the church ceremony the groom's entourage formed a procession that began at the groom's house. The procession made its way to the church while the bride's procession would do the same. At one point the two processions met and continued the final stretch of the journey together. The *starosty* or a selected individual often carried a staff called a *kurahu* and

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[29] Starosty can be understood as "wedding uncle," "master of ceremonies," "matchmaker" or "elder."
[30] M.M. Shubravska, ed. *Vesillia [Wedding].* Vol 2. pp. 63-67 (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1970).

led the procession to the church ceremony.[31] After the ceremony the bride and her family returned to her house while the groom and his family went to his. Later another procession left from the groom's home with his entourage to retrieve the bride and bring her to her new home.

Each of these processions included music, merrymaking, silliness, drinking, singing and dancing. Often these processions were effective in building up the excitement of the wedding and the many gatherings associated with it. It was an opportunity for the entire community to be involved and be witness to a new union in the community.

Wedding processions are important components of weddings. My own travel in the region reveals that even today processions of different sorts are held as sacred moments in the life of an individual and their community.[32] In the spiritual sense, processions are a liminal and superstitious time. The couple makes a symbolic journey from their old life as young single individuals to their new life as a joined pair with a new image and a new role to play in their own lives and in the community. In some ways the procession is symbolically part of the transfer from being single to being a couple before God and the community. The bride is crossing over to a new family. Dance plays an important role in this process. A good wedding is often the prescription for the start of a new life together. Often the community judges the quality of a wedding by how much people drink, sing and dance.

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[31] Klara Balog, July 2006, Uzhhorod. Recorded Interview. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA 2008.025).

[32] In my travels throughout western Ukraine, I have observed several wedding and funeral processions. In each case, the participants and observers treated the event very seriously, stopping their vehicles while the procession passes.

In traditional contexts, in order to encourage blessings and good luck on this journey, the couple sometimes stopped at cross roads. A *kaplytsia* [chapel] or roadside cross was often erected at road intersections. Many villagers came out to greet the procession and offer their blessings as it passed by their homes. In a larger village or town, perhaps not everyone would be invited to the wedding. During the procession however, the entire community would be drawn into the knowledge that a new family unit was being created. It was a very public affair, which helped solidify the community. It was considered good luck if people came out to greet the wedding couple and offer them bread and salt for their symbolic journey. During this time, the villagers in the wedding procession visited and socialized while singing and dancing to the music that played continually. There was also typically a continual flow of *samohonka* [homebrew], vodka and home made wine.

The musicians were near the front of the procession and traditionally consisted of a *tsymbaly* or dulcimer, violin, and drum.[33] More recent instruments include the baian or accordion, *sopilka* and a trumpet.

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[33] Klara Balog, July 2006, Uzhhorod. Recorded Interview. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA 2008.025).

Figure 6. Photo - Musical trio from unknown location in Transcarpathia is displayed at Ethnographic museum in Uzhhorod

Form

Dance-Like Activity

Wedding processions in Liuta and other villages in the area of Velykyi Bereznyi involved "dance-like activities." Within the larger range of expressive human movement systems, "dance-like activities" [*tanky* in Ukrainian] are closely connected with dance activities proper, insofar as they involve a connection with music and movement. However, they are not necessarily performed to instrumental music. Most significantly for our purposes, "dance-like activities" are not considered to be regular dance by the performers.[34]

The dance *Bereznianka* was inspired by the dance-like movements that took place during the wedding procession as described above. As the procession moved down the

[34] Larysa Saban, "Dances and Games with Weapons: Ukrainian authentic traditions and historical examples." *Proceedings 21st Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology, 2000, Korcula.* p. 94 (Zagreb, Croatia: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 2001).

street towards the church, the villagers sang and danced to the music that was being played by the band.

This dance-like activity was very informal and spontaneous and included a combination of the motifs commonly found in more formal dance situations. The movements were improvised. The movements proceeded forward as the procession moved towards its destination. Perhaps a groomsman, caught up in the excitement of the wedding and the music and song, would have hopped and jumped as he traveled along in the procession. The participants executed a movement that was described to me as *triasuchka*. Laszlo Felfoldi and Anca Giurcheseu, ethnochoreologists and specialists in Hungarian and Romanian dance respectively, explained to me that this step is often seen in Hungarian and Romanian marches/processions as well. They were fascinated to know that this step was found in the area of Velykyi Bereznyi.

Triasuchka was the most important step to be seen at these times. When the procession stopped, as it did from time to time, other steps became more common. I will distinguish two categories of dance-like movements that may occur during a procession - stationary movements and traveling movements. Klara Balog's description and a video of a Ukrainian wedding from another region both suggest some of the dance-like movements that may have been typical around Velykyi Bereznyi.[35]

Traveling movements may include:

- Walking
- *Triasuchka*

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[35] "Wedding" Bochkoryk, Ivan & Angela. (field recording) Bystryi, Romania. 1995 (BMUFA 1995.032.v2004)

Stationary movements may include:

- Side stepping in variety of patterns (regular *chardash*)
- Bouncing and swinging
- stamping

Triasuchka comes from the word *triasyty,* a verb, which means to shake. It is a very bouncy step, which consists of hopping on the left leg, while almost at the same time (perhaps a ¼ note before) touching the right toe or foot to the ground in front of the body and slightly across, on the first beat. On the second beat, the left leg would executes another hop while simultaneously lifting right leg off the ground. On the third beat, the dancer jumps from the left leg to right leg, and then, after a slight pause, the entire movement combination is then repeated on the other leg. Klara Balog described the step with the head moving as if looking from right to left in time with the music. On the first count, the head moves right, left and then right again, and on the second count, the head moves left, right and then finishes left. The whole while the arms hang loosely at the side.

The procession was also characterized by the *kurahu* or wedding stick that was carried along with the procession.[36] Whoever carries the *kurahu* was to throw it up into the air as the procession goes along. This may also be considered dance-like activity.

See Video Examples 1 and 2

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[36] *Kurahu* probably comes from the word *Khoruhva(vy)* which means church banner; ensign or standard. This word is possibly connected with the old Slavic and Ukrainian word *korokhva or korohu* which is a flag or a banner often used in religious or military ceremony. Andrusyshen, C.H. ed. 1955. Ukrainian-English Dictionary. University of Saskatchewan: University of Toronto Press.

Video example 1 is of a Ukrainian Hutsul wedding, located in a Hutsul village in Romania called Bystryi. The procession includes two men carrying staffs similar to those used in Velykyi Bereznyi. These men often threw the staffs up into the air and caught them.

Figure 7. Photo - *Kurahu* from Uzhhorod Museum

Figure 8. Photo - *Kurahu* from Uzhhorod Museum

Figure 9. Sorokolet, Anna. Photo of man with wedding stick. August 29, 2008. <http://www.hudaki.org/images/vodicia/index.htm>

Video example 2 is from a village in Transcarpathia. The procession has been replaced with villagers traveling by truck instead of walking. However, the kurahu is still present and seems to be an essential element of the wedding event.

Clothing

The villagers generally wore their Sunday best clothing while the bride and groom were more lavishly clothed. It is important to note that not everyone would be dressed the same. Clothes were home made. Below are some examples of clothing from this area displayed in the museum in Uzhhorod.

The following pictures, from villages within the county of Velykyi Bereznyi, are quite consistent with the design of the costumes used later for staged *Bereznianka*.

Figure 10. Photo - Female dress from village of Perechin

Figure 11. Photo - Female costume from village of *Uzok*.

Figure 12. Photo - Female costume from village of *Vyshka*

Meaning

Folk dance is often the expression of the joy of the moment and a reflection of the spirit of the music. It is full of improvisation and even thought the form may be very simple, it is actually a rich and expressive vehicle. The dancer or group of dancers may have a variety of things in mind as they dance. This might include impressing a love interest, showing off or gaining prestige. Nahachewsky explains what might motivate someone to dance the *kolomyika*.

> one dancer may participate in a *kolomyika* actively so as to be noticed by a girl whom he likes. Another dancer might think specially about doing her best to honor the bride and groom. A third might be swept into the excitement of the dance primarily because of the music, the camaraderie and the alcohol.[37]

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[37] Andriy Nahachewsky, "The *Kolomyika*: Change and Diversity in Canadian Ukrainian Folk Dance," 2 vols. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1991).

I think it is valuable to reflect on the world of peasant culture as well as peasant values as it applies to weddings and dance specifically.

> Uniformity in the local population, intense interaction, interdependence in many spheres of life and a non-secular worldview all promote the development and maintenance of elaborate local customs, ceremonies, beliefs, taboos and prescriptions for everyday life and for special occasions.[38]

Peasant cultures usually include large families in a rural farming and low technology situation. The family and village units are very important support structures and there is a focus on family and community. Peasant communities depend on each other while harvesting the crops and grazing the cattle, preparing food or building a barn. During festivities like weddings, a village comes together to prepare the food and the decorations. Usually the guests collect funds to help the young couple start their new union.

A peasant's worldview may be quite narrow due to the fact that he/she rarely travels very far from home during the course of his/her life. This reinforces the fact that peasant societies are largely conservative and conformist. A community may not respond well to individuality or creativity that falls outside collective norms. Peasant cultures typically maintain a belief in the supernatural and have many superstitions to that deal with a world that they cannot always control or understand. However, someone who expresses themselves "well" within the prescribed tradition of the community is positive. In peasant dance situations, dance was a normal component of the entire event. People

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[38] Andriy, Nahachewsky, "Dance Across Cultures: Perspectives on Folk, Ethnic, National and Character Dance." p. 6 (Edmonton: Manuscript, 2007).

are not shy about dancing during festivities like weddings. On the contrary, an individual can garner honor and status for celebrating well.

The reason for this line of description may become more apparent as the reader compares some of the other manifestations of the dance *Bereznianka* in later chapters. In the mean time, we have been exploring the dance that became *Bereznianka* in its "vival" form. The word vival is an old English adjective, proposed by Andriy Nahachewsky, to make a distinction from the concept of revival.[39] Vival communicates that a dance is "living" or perhaps naturally occurring and unselfconscious. By contrast "revival" indicates a conscious attempt to recreate a vival dance from a previous time.[40] A revival dance can be described as having a past orientation. This means the dance and the dancers "pretend" to be associated with another place at an earlier time. In a vival peasant dance scenario, like the one we are discussing, the dance does not have a past orientation. The dancers are in the present moment and there is no consciousness about preserving this dance from the past.[41] It is not explicitly choreographed or rehearsed and the dancer performs for himself, his partner or other participants in the occasion. There is usually no front orientation, no stage, no straight lines and there is almost always plenty of improvisation and variation. A peasant or vival dancer is not concerned with elongating the spine, smiling on purpose or stretching their feet for a "more pleasant aesthetic" performance. A vival dancer will dance for pleasure, as an expression of his or

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[39] A more in-depth description of revival dance can be found in the following chapter.

[40] A conceptual distinction between vival and revival can easily be expanded to describe other cultural phenomena.

[41] At weddings in Canada, one may dance the Bird Dance. One day in the future, a community may realize that this dance is disappearing and want to preserve it. When one dances this dance today, one is usually not thinking about preservation or culture, but simply dancing for the moment. That is the way I imagine vival dance.

her festive mood. Young children, growing up in the community and attending many weddings, learn a vival dance by observation. In this way the dance is passed on from the generations before it.

Velykyi Bereznyi Today

Today, Velykyi Bereznyi is a small border town, in the far southwest corner of Ukraine. The population is aging and young people are leaving for bigger cities and jobs abroad in Europe and elsewhere. There is a local folk group that revives local traditions of the area. Significantly, *Bereznianka* was never introduced into local stage dance repertoire.[42] The *chardash* is still the main music genre of the older generation. The tune *Bereznianka* is still known by some but is rarely sung and the younger generation does not generally know it. At weddings, there is still live music, but it is more contemporary with electronic synthesizers and the like.

Figure 13. Photo - Leaving the town of Velykyi Bereznyi

[42] Vasyl Vasylovich, July, 2006, Velykyi Bereznyi. Recorded interview by Vincent Rees. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA 2008.025).

I witnessed a wedding procession as we were leaving Velykyi Bereznyi. There was live music leading the procession, which included a trumpet and an accordion. The bride was wearing a white dress and the groom was wearing a beige suit. I did not see a *kurahu* or decorated stick in the procession. Outside the restaurant where the dinner was being held however, two decorated tree branches adorned the gate to the restaurant.

Figure 14. Photo - Contemporary Wedding in the county of Velykyi Bereznyi 2006

Figure 15. Photo - Decorated tree branches outside restaurant where wedding was held 2006

Chapter II - On Stage in Ukraine

Context

Stage Folk Dance in the Soviet Union, Ukraine & Transcarpathia

Figure 16. From a brochure of the Transcarpathian Ensemble [n.d.].

Socialist realism was the one official artistic policy of the Soviet Union. It was officially adopted in 1934 at the First Congress of Writers of the USSR.[43] Although it originated in the literary arts as "a true, historical, and concrete depiction of reality in its revolutionary development" it soon became official policy for all art forms. The resulting arts were powerful in their glorification of the Soviet man, the working class and the peasant. The technical level that was reached in the physical arts; ballet, gymnastics and folk dance was impressive. Abstract artists were labeled bourgeois and discouraged and socialist realist art was often described as overtly sentimental. The idea was to move away from bourgeois or elite expression. They preferred to create art for the people that in turn became very populist in nature. Modern dance was not allowed in the former

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[43] I. Koshelievets, "Socialist Realism" In Danylo Husar-Struk, ed., *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*. pp. 794-795 (Toronto, University of Toronto. Vol. IV, 1993).

Soviet Union and neither was there development of jazz or tap as occurred in some other parts of Europe. Although ballet had its origins in elite culture, and thus was incompatible with Soviet populist ideology, Joesph Stalin enjoyed ballet and therefore it was allowed to remain. Stage folk dance in its depiction of the happy peasant ultimately became a central focus in the dance world of the Soviet Union. The most prominent example of National dance in the Soviet Union is by the choreographer Igor Moiseyev.

Igor Alexandrovich Moiseyev was born in Kyiv in 1906 and graduated from the Bolshoi Theatre ballet school in 1924 where he danced until 1939. In 1936, he established the Theatre of Folk Art, a new dance company, which eventually became known as the Moiseyev Ballet. Moiseyev created spectacular performances that combined folklore, ballet, acrobatics and theatre.

> We are pursuing two paths. Firstly the path of creative interpretation based on the extant folk dance with its definite plot, accepted forms and traditions. Secondly, we are creating new dances based on the folk traditions not yet embodied in dance forms: the idea and theme alive in the folk song. We give the folk play and ethos its choreographic expression. [44]

His energetic representations of the various peoples living in the Soviet Union was a combination of ballet, character dance, acrobatics and theatre, and the results were spectacular. As noted by well-known ethnochoreologist Elsie Ivancich-Dunin, the Moiseyev model became the standard throughout the Soviet bloc.

> The Soviet school of folk dance choreography were based on a balletic stage aesthetic and by the early 1950s, selected Moiseyev choreographies were even translated into other eastern European languages so that his model for folk dance performance filtered into those countries. In these books, illustrative examples stressed straight and extended torsos, outwardly rotated leg gestures, pointed toes,

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[44] Natalia Sheremetyevskaya, *Rediscovery of the Dance: The State Academic Folk Dance Ensemble of the U.S.S.R. Under the Direction of Igor Moiseyev*. p.32 (Moscow: Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1965).

open arm and hand gestures, frequent changes in special formations from an audience perspective, and other stage techniques. [45]

In Ukraine, the State Ensemble named after Pavlo Virsky became the celebrated ensemble that represented the "folk" dance movement at its elite level. Virsky was born in *Odesa* and joined the *Odesa* ballet in 1928. He gained a solid reputation staging ballets such as "Swan Lake" and "Don Quixote."[46] In 1937 this Kyiv dance group became a national institution and Virsky became the director in 1951. Virsky's philosophy echos that of Igor Moiseyev when he says, "The main principle of our work is not simply to copy the ethnographic patterns of our national dance but to enrich them by means of creative interpretation."[47]

In Ukraine and the Soviet Union, many amateur and professional ensembles were established that represented dance from throughout the Soviet Union. There were elements of Soviet patriotism as well as Ukrainian culture that were developed within the repertoire of the large State Ensembles. The provincial ensembles were more inclined toward Ukrainian or at the minimum, provincial presentations although they were required to do proletariat and Russian dances as well. In many cases, ensembles were created that focused mostly on Ukrainian ethnographic sub-groups. Additionally, many village ensembles were created that generally performed repertoire of their particular village.

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[45] Elsie Evancich-Dunin and Stanimir Visinski, *Ensemble Tanec*: *Dances of Macedonia*. p.8 (Skopje, Macedonia. 1995).

[46] Virsky Dance Company. Souvenir Program. 1988

[47] Virsky Dance Company. Souvenir Program. 1988

The system of folk dance was supposed to work as an upwards pyramid type model. The National State Ensemble was expected to perform the best and most highly polished dances. Below that would be the provincial ensembles, then the amateur ensembles and the village ensembles at the bottom. The best dances from the village groups would be selected to be polished and cleaned up incrementally, perhaps eventually being performed at the top. Ideally, the groups at the bottom would copy these wonderful polished "folk" dances and peasant culture would be elevated.[48]

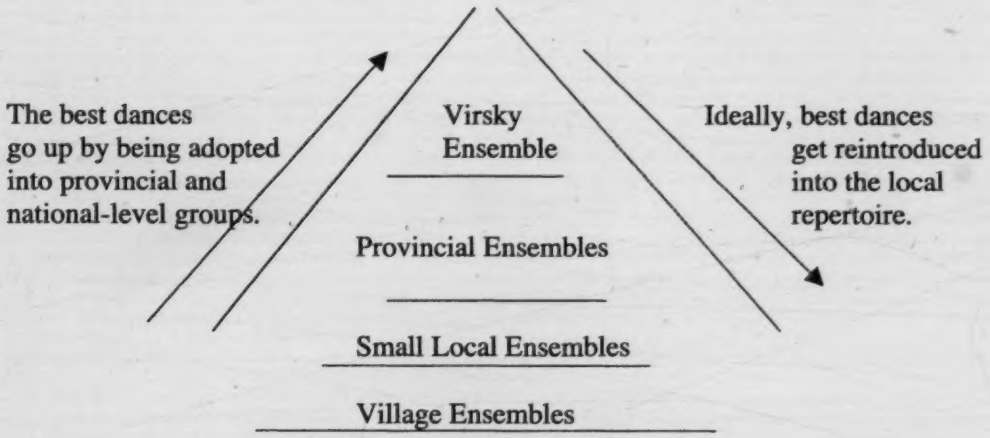
The best dances go up by being adopted into provincial and national-level groups.
Virsky Ensemble
Provincial Ensembles
Small Local Ensembles
Village Ensembles
Ideally, best dances get reintroduced into the local repertoire.

Figure 17. Chart of model for folk dance in Soviet Union. (based on Vasylenko)

The establishment of a state funded folk collective in Transcarpathia, the far corner of Soviet Ukraine, was in part politically motivated. The Soviets were keenly aware of the potential for a positive image of the happy people.

> State cultural management supported and encouraged the selection of folklore products, separated from their original contexts, " enriched" and "raised to a superior artistic level"; these then became the transmitters of new political and cultural messages through staged performances... Folklore has always been

[48] Kim Vasylenko, Komposytsia ukrains'koho narodno-stsenichnoho tantsiu [Composition of Ukrainian folk-staged dace] Raiduha: Bibliotechka khudozhnoi samodiial'nosti [Rainbow: a little library for amateur performers] p.14 (Kyiv: Mystetstvo 1983).

employed in politics to symbolize the nation-state, to awaken and rally people's national consciousness.[49]

The oblast' of Transcarpathia was incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1944 and within a year, the Transcarpathian Ensemble was created under the direction of Valentin Semenovich Angarov.[50] The repertoire of the Transcarpathian collective contained dances from all over the province. This pattern somewhat followed the model set forth by the Moiseyev dance company in Moscow. The mandate of the Igor Moiseyev Enemble was to perform dances representing the sub-groups of the entire Soviet Union. The Virsky Ensemble, in turn, had a mandate to represent the various sub-groups across Ukraine. Similarly, the Transcarpathian Ensemble created dances representing the sub-groups of Transcarpathia. The Moiseyev Ensemble performed dances from the entire Soviet Union, the Virsky Ensemble did mostly Ukrainian dances and the Transcarpathian Ensemble did mostly ethnically Ukrainian dances from the different parts of this oblast' or province. They performed dances representing the Rakhiv district as well as the districts Irshava, Mizhhiria and of course the district of Velykyi Bereznyi. This ensemble also performed dances of the many other national groups living in this region. They performed the Hungarian, Romanian, Slovak and Jewish dances.[51] This was important politically, as the official stance was to incorporate all cultures into the universal Soviet Man. It was also politically pragmatic, as the Bolsheviks needed to work to develop support of the diverse population it governed.

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[49] Anca Giurchescu, "The Power and the Dance Symbol and Its Socio-Political Use," *Proceedings 17th Symposium of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology* (Nafplion, Greece, pp. 15-23 1992).
[50] Ivan Khlata, *Pisnia nad Karpaty* [The song over the Carpathians] (Uzhorod: Karpaty, 1994).
[51] Klara Balog, June 2005, Uzhhorod. Recorded Interview. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA 2008.025).

Klara Redirivna Balog was one of the original dancers in the Transcarpathian Ensemble. As a young girl she had wanted to study at the academy in Budapest but her family could not afford it. Instead, she studied dance at the musical teaching academy. She was a talented dancer and soloist with the Transcarpathian Ensemble for many years. Klara Balog was appointed artistic director in 1959 and still directs the Ensemble to this day. She has created dozens of choreographies but some of her most famous ones include: *Bubnarskyi, Rakovetskyi kruchenyi, Boikiv'ska zabava* and *Bereznianka.*

Figure 18. Photo - Klara Balog, Artistic Director of the Transcarpathian Ensemble 2006

Revival Theory

According to Nahachewsky, revival dance means that the dance reflects backwards in time to an earlier "original." The dance is "re-vived" or "lived again." A choreographer may take a specific vival dance (explained above) and revive it for the dancers. As a rule, in revival dance that follows the Moiseyev model, there is no improvisation. The form is fixed and the form is rehearsed until is it ready to be

performed. Revival dances are generally performed in a theatre or on some sort of stage. There is a very clear distinction between the performer and the audience.

Anthony Shay, a popular dance scholar, places folk dances on a spectrum. On the one end is the highly polished Moiseyev Ensemble, which is the most distant from a vival dance. On the other end of the spectrum are villagers dancing in a natural context. Dance groups near the latter end of the spectrum tend to focus on replicating the details of a particular village, a particular costume, a particular way of moving. Groups leaning toward the Moiseyev end of the spectrum try to draw attention to what they perceive as the essential parts of a people. To put it another way, they like to capture the "essence" of the people but the exact details are less important.[52]

It seems to me that the size of a geographic area that a dance group represents is very important in connection wit Shay's spectrum. A village dance group may mainly be concerned with dances from their village and surrounding area. On the other hand, Moiseyev is concerned with dance from the entire Soviet Union, a much larger geographic area. Moiseyev selects the essential elements or the "spirit" to incorporate into his dances and the result is a generic, non-particular representation. Whereas village groups may encompass the whole of their local repertoire in a single concert, Moiseyev's mandate necessarily involves a much greater process of selection, generalization and abstraction.

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[52] Anthony Shay, *Choreographic Politics: State Folk Dance Companies, Representation and Power*, p.14 (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan Universtiy Press, 2002).

Andriy Nahachewsky builds on Kim Vasylenko's "three principles of theatricalization."[53] When staging a dance "according to the first principle of theatricalization involves the most serious efforts at preservation of the original form."[54] Below, Nahachewsky, comments on Vasylenko's second and third principles of theatricalization.

> Dance compositions arranged according to second principle, however, are less faithful to the participatory vival dance prototypes. For second principle compositions, the choreographer is no longer apologetic about their theatricalization and the stages dances can be seen as being " more comfortable" in their location on the stage platform.[55]
>
> ...third principle dances are sometimes not really stagings of earlier vival dances at all, but are born directly in the theatre... The choreographer perceives that this "kernel" reflects something essential in the culture and elaborates on it to create the dance representing the target culture.[56]

Klara Balog's *Bereznianka* does not fit easily into the above categories because it is not actually representing an earlier vival dance per se, but rather dance-like activity during a wedding procession. Like Vasylenko's third principle, *Bereznianka* was born in the theatre. Klara Balog's choreography however does give the impression that it is a folk dance from the village, a characteristic that connects it with second principle of theatricalization.

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[53] Kim Vasylenko, Komposytsia ukrains'koho narodno-stsenichnoho tantsiu [Composition of Ukrainian folk-staged dące] Raiduha: Bibliotechka khudozhnoi samodiial'nosti [Rainbow: a little library for amateur performers] p.14 (Kyiv: Mystetstvo 1983).

[54] Andriy Nahachewsky, "Dance Across Cultures: Perspectives on Folk, Ethnic, National and Character Dance," pp. 299 (Edmonton: Manuscript, 2007).

[55] Ibid, pp. 302.

[56] Ibid, pp. 304.

Form

Klara Balog's Bereznianka

Klara Balog traveled to the village of *Liuta* sometime in the late 1950*s* and observed a village wedding.[57] It was based on this observation in the field that she created *Bereznianka.* To my knowledge, she has not described this process in detail but the film *Z chystykh dzherel* imitates the process vividly in a sequence near the beginning. It shows her attending a village event, interviewing an elderly lady, and dancing with her surrounded by smiling onlookers. The film then shifts directly to the Transcarpathian Ensemble dancing on stage.

See Video Example 4

Klara Balog's original version of *Bereznianka* was called *Vesil'nyi tanets* [wedding dance] and symbolized a wedding. Balog drew attention to procession theme by having the dancers join together to do the *Bereznianka* step as they traveled from one figure to the next. Klara Balog explained that she "thought it would be more interesting if, instead of one *kurahu,* everyone had a stick. It is up to the choreographer to use his imagination."[58] Balog also made the movement more "academic." [59] "After all this is a professional collective," she said.[60] In addition, the formations became more diverse than a unidirectional procession.

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[57] Klara told me that it was sometime in the 1960*s*, however a book published in 1960 already shows a picture of *Bereznianka.*

[58] Klara Balog, June 2005, Uzhhorod. Recorded Interview. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA 2008.025).

[59] Academic dance in the context of the former Soviet Union refers to the highly polished form of folk dance with academy level trained dancers executed steps with a staged ballet aesthetic.

[60] Klara Balog, June 2005, Uzhhorod. Recorded Interview. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA 2008.025).

See Video Example 3

The music used by the Transcarpathian collective was orchestrated by Martin and played by a larger orchestra rather than the three-piece band that played in the villages. A professional choir sang the words to the same *chardash* that was sung in the villages in the county of Velykyi Bereznyi.

In the previous chapter, the step *triasuchka* was described where the foot touched, brushed or stamped the floor on the first beat. In this new version, the foot is stretched and elongated and does a quick and sharp bounce off the floor to a height of approximately 20cm. Also, regarding the head movement, in the village version, the head looked from right to left along with the music. In Klara Balog's version, the head would look right, left then centre on the first count, and then move left, right then centre on the second count and continue this way as long as *triasuchka* was performed.

Klara Balog's *Bereznianka* choreography begins with performers on stage pretending to be celebrating a wedding. The dancers slowly assemble on stage while the choir is singing. After some flirtation pantomime, the main section of the dance begins. All the couples join in pairs from down stage right (the left side of the stage from the perspective of the audience) and make their way across the front of the stage to begin the dance.

A later version of the dance is described in Humeniuk's 1969 book *Ukrain'skyi narodnyi tantsi*. [61] This later version of *Bereznianka* does not include singing. In Humeniuk's description there is no mention of a choir and, as described below, the entrance has been

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[61] Andrii Humeniuk, *Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Tantsi* [Ukrainian folk dances] 2nd edition, p. 577-588 (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka. 1969).

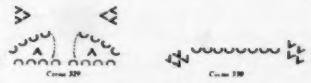
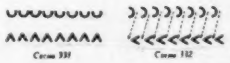
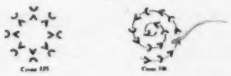
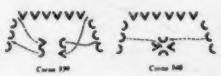
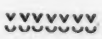
slightly altered from Balog's original description. In the last section of the dance, the girls hold a handkerchief. The purpose will become more important in the next version of the dance.

Humeniuk's description of *Berezhianka* is presented in Appendix A. It is very thorough and I will not attempt the same for each collected variant. However, I will draw attention to the main elements as I see them for the purpose of later comparison to other variants. The following is a visual description of the dance. On the left are the counts of the music. Beside the counts I have written a brief description of what happens during those counts.

Humeniuk Version
See Appendix A

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.

Note: Music section 2 and 3 are just variations on the theme of Music section 1

Beats	Music Section	Figure	Focus	Floorplan
12	Martin Introduction		Entrance	
8	Music Section 1		Set up	
6				
6				
8	Music Section 2	Figure I	Line combo	
6				
6				
8	Music Section 3	Figure II	Travel to circle	
6				
6				
8	Music Section 4	Figure III	Circle section	
8			Spiral section	
4				
8	Music Section 2	Figure IV	Solo 1 boy 2 girls	
6				
6				
8	Music Section 4	Figure V	Solo 2 boys 2 girls	
8				
4				
8	Music Section 1	Figure VI	Solo 2 boys 2 girls	
6				
6				
8	Music Section 2	Figure VII	Circle Section II	
6				
6				
8	Music Section 3	Figure VIII	Travel to line	
6				
6				
8	Music Section 4	Figure VIII	Final combo & finish	
8				
4				

Pavlo Virsky & Bereznianka

According to Myroslav Vantukh, the current Artistic Director of the Virsky Ensemble, Pavlo Virsky was expanding his repertoire in the 1960*s* to include dances from the various regions of Ukraine.[62] Virsky enjoyed the unique style of *Bereznianka*. Its musical composition, steps and use of props provided the contrast that Virsky was looking for in his repertoire. Klara Balog was invited to Kyiv to mount the dance on the Virsky Ensemble.

When Virsky staged the dance, several changes were made. He also infused the dance with much more of a ballet aesthetic and changed the beginning. In the Virsky version, the dance begins with all the boys entering from up stage left (the back right from the perspective of the audience) and all the girls from (the back left from the perspective of the audience). The dancers immediately come towards each other at the centre of the stage and move directly towards the front in couples. Some of the other changes include: no choir and different solos. The original movement was, in Virsky's personal opinion, awkward and not aesthetically appealing. Based on Humeniuk's description of the main step or *Zakarpatskyi Dribushky*, follows the earlier style where the head looks from right to left. In Virsky's version, the head instead of looking from right to left tilts from right to left. Vasyl Semen', a long time soloist with the Transcarpathian Choir, also described how Virsky made some small changes in the solo sections.[63] Klara Balog accepted all the changes and today, the Transcarpathian Ensemble

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[62] Myroslav Vantukh, June 2005. Kyiv. Recorded interview by Vincent Rees. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA 2008.025).

[63] Vasyl'Semen, June 2005. Lviv. Recorded interview by Vincent Rees. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA 2008.025).

performs Virsky's interpretation of *Bereznianka*. This dance became a staple in the repertoire of the Virsky and Transcarpathian ensembles. Both ensembles performing it even to this day.

Virsky Ensemble

See Video Example 6

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.

Beats	MS	Music Section	Focus
6		New Zavhorodnyi Intro	
8	MS	Music Section 1	All dancers enter doing main step
6	MS		
6	MS		
12		Martin Intro	2 men solo and stick toss
8	MS	Music Section 1	Join with partners, travel to circle
6	MS		
6	MS		
8	MS	Music Section 1	Circle Section
6			
6			
8	MS	Music Section 1	Spiral Section
6			
6			
8	MS	Music Section 4	1st solo (1 male - 2 female)
8			
8		Music Section 4	2nd solo (2 male – 2 female)
8			
8	MS	Music Section 4	3rd solo (2 male – 2 female)
8			
Pause			
"Hey"			
8	MS	Music Section 1	Circle Section II
6	MS		
6			
8		Music Section 1	
6	MS		Travel to back
6			
8	MS	Music Section 1	Rush the audience doing main step
6			
6			
Pause			Bow
2 drum beats			
8	MS	Music Section 1	Finale and exit
6			
6			

Name of performing group: Virsky Ensemble

Instructor/Choreographer: Klara Balog / Pavlo Virsky

Description of performing group: professional dance group with full state funding with exceptionally trained professional dancers of the highest quality

Name given to dance: *Bereznianka*

When performed: mid *80s*

Where performed: Palace of Ukraine

Number of dancers: 10 couples

Age of dancers: late teens to late *30s* maybe early *40s*

Length of dance: 3:46

Description of Music: Virsky Orchestra, full orchestra, very militant, played with a strong socialist realist aesthetic

Description of Costumes and Props: perfectly uniform, fitted individually, use of hankies to accent girls' movement and sticks to accent boys' movement

Description of Dance: (entrance, solos, circles, exit, use of vocals)
Maintains the idea of procession with 3 solos
Use of Main Step dominates dance
The stick is highlighted throughout

Audience reaction:
Lots of applause

Other:

Music

In Uzhhorod, Martin took the original *chardash* recorded by Klara Balog in the village of Liuta and orchestrated for the Transcarpathian collective. The original *chardash* has one music phrase while Martin added a counter phrase. The counter phrase is described as musical section 4 in Humeniuk. Musical sections two and three, are simply variations on musical section one. In Kyiv, the music was taken by Zavhorodnyi who built on Matin's interpretation. The song evolved to include an introduction and an alternate melody as well as several other orchestrating techniques with the intent of making the folk melody more "interesting" and dynamic for a contemporary audience based on Virsky and Zavhorodnyi's aesthetics. Virsky and Zavhorodnyi believed that the dance would not be as entertaining if the orchestra was to play the same 12 count melody over and over for 3-4 minutes. This is an example of the shift in orientation from the participants to the observers.[64] In the village version, the focus was participatory while the on stage versions are clearly oriented towards the audience. In the village, it was very normal practice to repeat a melody many times during a procession or a dance.

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[64] Kim Vasylenko, *Komposytsia ukrains'koho narodno-stsenichnoho tantsiu* [Composition of Ukrainian folk-staged dace] Raiduha: Bibliotechka khudozhnoi samodiial'nosti [Rainbow: a little library for amateur performers] p.14 (Kyiv: Mystetstvo 1983).

Clothing

Figure 19. Transcarpathian Ensemble. Cherkashyna, K. *Zasluzhenyi Zakarpat'skyi Narodnyi Khor* [Honoured Transcarpathian Folk Choir]. Kyiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo obrazotvorchoho mystetstva i muzychnoi literatury URSR. Kyiv. 1960.

Figure 20. Transcarpathian Ensemble. Cherkashyna, K. *Zasluzhenyi Zakarpat'skyi Narodnyi Khor* [Honoured Transcarpathian Folk Choir]. Kyiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo obrazotvorchoho mystetstva i muzychnoi literatury URSR. Kyiv. 1960.

The formation in Figure 19 is somewhat similar to one described in Humeniuk and observed later in the Virsky version. In this photo, we have two circles, though in the

later materials, the dances create a spiral shape. It is not clear whether the girls have hankies in either figure 19 or 20.

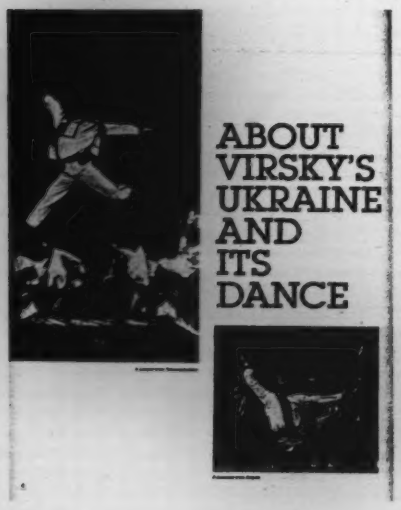

Figure 21. Virsky Ensemble. Virsky Dance Company. Souvenir Program. 1988.

Figure 22. Virsky Ensemble. Virsky Dance Company. Souvenir Program. 1988.

Figures 19 and 20 depict the Transcarpathian Collective performing the dance *Bereznianka* while Figures 21 and 22 show the Virsky Ensemble. Earlier I spoke of the changes to the movement, now I would like to draw your attention to the changes in the costume. There is a noticeable difference between the costumes in the first picture and those in the following three. The first two photos, from 1960, show what the costume looked like before Virsky made changes to the dance. The male costume is a wide shirt that is high cut to reveal the mid-section while the Virsky costume has the shirt tucked into the pants. The short shirt on the man and the costumes on the women do not match the museum artifacts from the area around Velykyi Bereznyi.[65] They seem to resemble costumes from the Irshava district in south central Transcarpathia. (See Figure 4) It is interesting to note that in figure 19, although most of the costumes are uniform, it is clear that the females are wearing blouses with different embroidery.

The earlier version of the skirt goes down to mid-calf while the Virsky version has the skirt around the knee. This reflects the evolution of the aesthetics from the village, to the provincial capital, to the nation's capital, and back.

In the village of Liuta, in the county of Velykyi Bereznyi, everyone would wear home made clothes. In the staged interpretations of this dance, everyone wears standardized costumes. This is an example of how everything becomes 'essentialized' in some revival dance.

> Essentialization refers to the phenomenon of using uniformly produced costumes in matching colours, generalized orchestral tonal quality to cover the purported

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[65] It is my speculation that this was a very early version of this dance and perhaps proper costumes had not been prepared yet.

> musical output of an entire country, and a series of steps, movements, and choreographic strategies to represent an essentialized nation.[66]

Virsky's version of the dance is very crisp and almost militant in style. The costumes are very stylized and fitted to make the young dancers look thin and tall. The stick still symbolically represents the *kurahu* carried at the front of a wedding procession. The dance is performed with precision.

As mentioned above, the changes that Virsky made were popular enough that Balog herself eventually imposed the same changes on her own ensemble in choreography, music and perhaps costumes. Although it is not clear exactly when these changes occurred, it most likely happened sometime in the 1960*s*.

See Video Example 5

The picture below of the Transcarpathian Ensemble from 1994 shows the dancers wearing costumes that also resemble those from the county of Velykyi Bereznyi. From this point on, I will refer to Virsky's version as the standard version of *Bereznianka*.

[66] Anthony Shay, *Choreographic Politics: State Folk Dance Companies, Representation and Power*, p. 14 (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan Universtiy Press, 2002).

Figure 23. Transcarpathian Ensemble. Khlata, Ivan. *Pisnia nad Karpaty* [The song over the Carpathians]. Uzhorod: Karpaty. 1994.

The dance *Bereznianka* was re-contextualized from the village to the stage. This dance consciously attempts to re-create the past, however it is clearly part of a theatrical tradition with very patriotic overtones.

Meaning

Klara Balog's choreography, *Bereznianka,* does not exactly fit any of Vasylenko's three principles of theatricalization. On one hand, *Bereznianka* is tied by name to a specific area of the province while it is clearly a stage invention only loosely inspired by what she saw in a village. A key issue is that she never tries to break the illusion that this is a village dance. The dancers of the Transcarpathian collective do not have the same level of training as the dancers with Virsky, which also helps give the dance a natural feel, closer to a vival folk dance.

Klara Balog herself claims that, "it is up to the creativity of the choreographer."[67] Although this dance is clearly not a vival dance, it maintains the appearance of being a folk dance, more than will be seen in later versions. Balog chose to symbolically represent what would have been done in the village.

Some confusion does arise when discussing dance and using the term "folk". The translation for folk into Ukrainian is *narod. Narod* can be translated into English in its adjectival form as "folk", or "of the people". This peculiarity helps blur the difference between folk dance, dance of peasants or villagers, and national dance or cosmopolitan

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[67] Klara Balog, June 2005, Uzhhorod. Recorded Interview. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA 2008.025).

dance of the USSR. Klara Balog has accomplished the task of choreographing a dance that is often considered as both.

In our case, this dance may or may not be considered a revival. One could say, in order to revive something, in order to make something live again, it has to have lived in the first place. No dance called *Bereznianka* ever existed in any village. If someone requested a *chardash*, the band would know what to play. In other Ukrainian villages, someone could request *arkan*, *hutsulka*, *polka*, *kozachok*, *quadrille* or sometimes even tango. These dances could be identified according to their music and the way villagers danced to that particular style of music. These dances were performed and sometimes continue to be performed in Ukrainian villages today.

In my mind, Klara Balog never revived a dance, but created a piece of art, inspired by a village wedding. There are some movements that were revived or relived on the stage, but not an entire dance. Nevertheless, this new creation *Bereznianka*, gets lumped in with other revival dances like *arkan* and others because it is part of the repertoire that comprises Ukrainian dance in Ukraine. All dances are presented together as if they are part of a series of similar things. Some choreographers revive dances for the stage that they have seen in village participatory settings, while other choreographers make new dances inspired by "dance-like activity." *Bereznianka* is successful because it has a clear reflexive quality with reference to a past tradition.

Moiseyev "apparently" traveled throughout the Soviet Union collecting source material for his choreography and this became the model that many choreographers followed. Ukrainian choreographers Darii Lastivka, Raphail Malinovsky, Oleh Goldrich, Dana Demkiv and others have all claimed to me to have done extensive village field-

work. Their fieldwork is likely not the same as academic folklorists would conduct, but their purpose in doing fieldwork was not academic. Klara Balog followed this model and traveled within Transcarpathia collecting folklore as inspiration for her creative works.[68]

There were others who studied and did ethnographic fieldwork in Ukrainian dance. These include: Lysenko, Verkhovynets, Harasymchuk, and Humeniuk. Verkhovynets also describes methods for gathering ethnographic dance material.[69] Klara Balog herself was quoted as saying:

> All my work came from the dance folklore of my land. In finding forgotten dances I traveled to all the corners of the province. Now, if I just hear a melody, I can tell where it is from" "...don't sit in your office because it is like sitting on the asphalt, folk art doesn't grow there. But there where they seed and harvest the bread is where songs and dances can be found. The well of folklore is bottomless and our mission is to gather it and give it to the people.[70]

As mentioned in the previous chapter, a guest at the wedding will learn the dances by watching and growing up in the community. Stage dancers attend a special schools or colleges to learn how to be a professional dancer and acquire a job. Amateur dancers also take special dance classes and attend rehearsal. This is part of the government system of education. In Soviet Ukraine and even today to a lesser degree, there is a whole cultural industry that surrounds the development, training and performing of Ukrainian folk dance.

Dancers in the Transcarpathian Ensemble begin their day by taking a ballet class and preparing their muscles for the job at hand. They learn the dance *Berezhianka* from

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[68] Klara Balog, June 2005, Uzhhorod. Recorded Interview. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA 2008.025).

[69] Vasyl'Verkhovynets, *Teoria Ukrain'skoho narodnoho tanka* [Theory of Ukrainian folk dance] p.121 (Kyiv: Mystetstvo 1968 [1920]).

[70] Ivan Khlata, *Pisnia nad Karpaty* [The song over the Carpathians] (Uzhorod: Karpaty, 1994).

their teacher, Klara Balog or one of the rehearsal masters. These leaders act as a medium by which the dancers receive filtered information about the village. Perhaps some of the dancers have come from surrounding villages but others are most likely urban dwellers who grew up in Uzhhorod, Muchachevo or elsewhere in the province. In the case of the Virsky ensemble, dancers are mostly from Kyiv and enter the company after training for several years in the school. Other dancers may come from Chernihiv, Kharkiv, Odesa, and at the point of writing, there is one Canadian from Saskatoon dancing in the Virsky ensemble. They are instructed on the manner and style in which the dance must be performed. This dance is rehearsed until it is satisfactory to the director. When it is ready, it may be performed on stage. This is a major difference from the village. Additionally, the dance now has a name, which it did not before. The dance was originally called *Vesilnyi* and it is unclear exactly when the dance became known as *Berezníanka* but I suspect it was during the period where Virsky made adaptations.

Summary - the first series of filters

> "It is the purpose of the ensemble... to create classical examples of the folk dance, to sift it of dross and everything alien, to elevate the performing skill of folk dancing to a high artistic level."
> Igor Moiseyev[71]

It is interesting that Moiseyev talks about sifting folk dances because I think of sifting as a synonym for filtering. As mentioned in the introduction, the filtering processes are an important factor in understanding the overall journey of *Berezníanka*

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[71] Natalia Sheremetyevskaya, *Rediscovery of the Dance: The State Academic Folk Dance Ensemble of the U.S.S.R. Under the Direction of Igor Moiseyev*. pp. 31-32 (Moscow: Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1965).

from the county of Velykyi Bereznyi to Ukrainian Canadian stage dance community. When I think of a water filter, I imagine that the water has been cleaned up or been purified. I think of vival dance in much the same way. When a vival dance or dance-like activity has been taken from its natural environment, cleaned up, purified and bottled, it is still water. It is still water from a certain village but it is not the same as it was in its original context.

Taking a dance from its naturally occurring environment and moving to another re-contextualizes the dance. The dance now represents the village, region or country it came from - like a logo. In the new context, when an audience views this dance, they are shown a representation of that particular village. That dance creates an impression of the village it represents in the minds of the audience. However, that representation has been manipulated. The context has been changed, the time is different, the music has been enhanced, the costumes are uniform and made by professional designers and tailors rather than family members. The dancers are not necessarily from that village and may have never been there. Everything that the dancers, designers and musicians know about that village has been "filtered" through a choreographer and his or her creative process, politics and aesthetic values. The dancers, designers, and musicians have also added their thoughts and emotions. A second part of this filtering process took place when Pavlo Virsky staged it in Kyiv. He added his aesthetics as well as other values to the dance. I will refer to this whole process as the first series of filters in the journey of this dance. At this point, neither the village original nor the stage version would be recognizable to an observer.

Chapter III - Journey to Canada

Context

History of Ukrainians in Canada

It is important to establish a general understanding of the Ukrainian Community in Canada for our discussion. The Ukrainian immigration process to Canada can be grouped into four waves. The first wave began immigrating to Canada in the 1890s and continued until the outbreak of the first World War. The economic and social situation in Ukraine at the time was complex. Western Ukraine, which consisted of the provinces Galicia and Bukovyna, was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Russian Empire controlled eastern Ukraine. Galicia and Bukovyna were the poorest regions of Austro-Hungarian Empire at a time when Canada was looking to settle and populate the Canadian prairies. The Canadian government, encouraged by the efforts of Dr. Joesph Oleskiw, conducted a marketing campaign to attract Ukrainian peasant farmers to the vast tracts of free land made available for settlement. At this time almost 200,000 mostly peasant farmers left their homeland for Canada. The first settlements were around Star Alberta, but later Ukrainians spread out over much of the Canadian prairie from Edmonton to Winnipeg. These first immigrants homesteaded and broke land across the prairies and formed a large component of the communities where they lived. Some started businesses such as butcher shops, blacksmith shops and others. This first wave is very important for us in that these immigrants and their descendants make up a large portion of the community that maintains and participates in Ukrainian dance in Canada.

World War I interrupted immigration, but a second wave resumed during the interwar period and a third another wave occurred after World War II under quite

different circumstances. Compared with the first wave; the second and third waves largely arrived as political refugees from a Ukraine very different from the one that existed prior to World War I. These immigrants were often better educated and more nationally conscious than those in the first wave. Where the previous immigrations consisted mostly of farmers and small business men who made their homes throughout the prairies, this new wave was made of very politically conscious town and city people who made their homes in Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton and Vancouver. A major focus of the Ukrainian community became promoting awareness of Ukraine and its political aspirations. Ukrainians became highly integrated into mainstream society and maintained their Ukrainian-ness to varying degrees.

A fourth wave of immigration to Canada began in the late 1980s during Gorbachev's *perestroika* and gained even more momentum in the early 1990s after Ukraine became independent. This has included Ukrainians from Poland, Bosnia and from throughout Ukraine. This immigration can generally be considered economic. Many have come searching for work, to make more money and create a better life for themselves.

The history of Ukrainian immigration to Canada has been quite well documented. Is important for our discussion here to establish a framework for understanding the complexities of the Ukrainian community, the variety of impressions of Ukraine and what it means to be Ukrainian. A complex web of church, labour, political, business, arts, cultural as well as historical organizations constitute the Ukrainian community. Additionally, many Ukrainians who may not be active in community organizations, but still consider themselves Ukrainian, Ukrainian-Canadian or Canadian with a mother or

father, grandmother or grandfather, great-grandmother or great-grandfather that is Ukrainian. To each and every one of these potential participants in Ukrainian dance, identification with Ukrainian traditional culture will vary. From the descendants of the early pioneers, four generations ago, to the most recent immigrants, symbolically identifying with Ukraine and/or Ukrainian culture may be the common denominator.

History of Ukrainian Dance in Canada: as it relates to Bereznianka

The history of Ukrainian dance in general has been afforded little scholarly attention. Its history and development in Canada is also in its early stages. Staniec (2008), Balan (2007), Nahachewsky (2003), Pritz (1987), Shatulsky (1986), and Zerebecky (1985) have all written on various aspects of its history and development in Canada. I will not try to repeat what has been written but provide a short introduction so that the dance *Bereznianka* can be understood within its context. If Ukrainian dance in Canada is a river, it can be divided into four tributaries. One is the vival tradition, a second is the Avramenko influence and legacy. The Ukrainian Canadian contribution can be considered a third tributary. The fourth is the Soviet Ukrainian dance influence. Each of these tributaries flow into the larger river of Ukrainian Canadian dance. Every realization of *Bereznianka* is as if an instructor dipped into this river and filled up a pail. The water molecules in this pail would have elements of each of the tributaries. Let us spend a moment discussing each of the tributaries to the Canadian river of Ukrainian dance.

When Ukrainians first arrived, they brought with them knowledge of traditional dance. People danced for the pleasure of it during weddings, evening parties or any time

there was music and the mood took them. This dance culture operated much in the same way it did in the village of Velykyi Bereznyi, athough the repertoire was different, as Ukrainian Canadians had emigrated from other villages. A vival dance tradition continues to exist within the Ukrainian community and lives at Ukrainian parties, weddings and other such gatherings. This tradition is worthy of more study but is not relevant to this study.

Ukrainian stage dance as an organized activity in Canada evolved around 1925, motivated by of Vasyl' Avramenko, thirty years after Ukrainians began living on this land. Avramenko organized many performances and lessons throughout Canada in communities where Ukrainians were living. Relevant to our area of study, Avramenko, performed with his troupe intensively in the prairie-provinces including Edmonton and the surrounding communities in 1927. He also returned several times to conduct workshops in the subsequent summers.[72]

Avramenko's dances were disseminated by his students and in a short time Ukrainian dance had become an important aspect of the cultural life for every Ukrainian settlement. It was taught in every school associated with a Ukrainian organization. Avramenko's protégés continued to teach his interpretation of Ukrainian dance for many years but, as Lesia Pritz notes, with mixed results.

> The younger teachers grew impatient with constantly performing the same dances in the same manner and began trying to create choreographies of their own. Almost any good dancer could become an instructor if he or she had natural-born aggressiveness or leadership qualities; but these qualities in no way guaranteed that the instructor was equipped to be a choreographer. Many of these people

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[72] Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of Taras Shevchenko. 2006. *Vasile Avramenko, A legacy of Ukrainian dance.*

> lacked adequate knowledge of Ukrainian culture, and most did not fully appreciate the material with which they were dealing.[73]

In addition, several successful Ukrainian born choreographers immigrated to Canada after the Second World War and became involved in the scene. This was effectively the end of the Avramenko era of Ukrainian dance in Canada, although his legacy still persists. In the early stages of Ukrainian dance, groups were often formed under the auspices of the local church. In the late 1950s however, a movement began in which dance ensembles were formed independent from any church. Chester Kuc formed two very influential ensembles in Edmonton: the Ukrainian Shumka Dancers in 1959 and Cheremosh Ukrainian Dancers in 1969. In the 1960*s* and 1970*s*, hundred of clubs were organized in both rural and urban centers all across Canada. This coincides with the grassroots and cultural heritage movements of the time that evolved the Canadian policy of multiculturalism.

The Ukrainian dance community was influenced to a great degree by the Soviets as the Moiseyev and Virsky Ensembles performed throughout Canada beginning in the late 1950s. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the style of these performances was very polished, stylized, and powerful. Many groups in Canada could not resist the desire to emulate this style of choreography and performance. However, the resulting dances were not all appreciated by Pritz.

> It should be pointed out that in many cases the resulting dances have been transformed into meaningless groupings of steps borrowed from dances differing in character from one another… [74]

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[73] Alexandra Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada: Theatre, Choral Music and Dance, 1891 – 1967" (M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1977).

[74] Alexandra Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada: Theatre, Choral Music and Dance, 1891 – 1967" p.16 (M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1977).

Nahachewsky views the post Avramenko era as a shift from the national paradigm to the spectacular paradigm.[75] Avramenko and others of the national paradigm were interested in promoting the deep roots of Ukrainian culture with his dances. His dances and others with a national orientation took pains to make dances that would stand the test of time. In the spectacular paradigm, dances tend to focus on audience appeal and freely incorporate foreign elements such as ballet, acrobatics and theatre. Portions of the Ukrainian dance community adopted a Socialist Realist aesthetic without the political baggage associated. Although there were a great deal of organizations that leaned away from adopting this style because of its association with Soviet or even Communist ideology. Other clubs preferred to follow the path that Avramenko had set forth. However, the influence of the European Ukrainian style continued to play a role.

Many Ukrainian Canadian choreographers regularly attended workshops in New York, taught by Ukrainian born ballet dancer and stage folk dance choreographer Roma Prima Bohachevska. In Fort Qu'Apelle Saskatchewan, the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians hosted annual workshops with well-known and celebrated artists of Soviet Ukraine. One important choreographer at these very popular summer sessions was Klara Balog.

> The seminars held in Ukraine and Canada in the 1970*s* and 1980*s* were an essential part of these changes in the dance performances. The ethnographic regions, ballet and character dance techniques, fresh choreography, and unique teaching style of the Soviet era in Ukraine were often incorporated into dance schools and ensembles across Canada.[76]

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[75] Andriy Nahachewsky, "Avramenko and the Paradigm of National Cultutre" *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 28 (Winter 2003): 31-50.

[76] Jillian Staniec, "Remain True to Culture? Authenticity, Identity, and Association of United Ukrainian Canadians Sponsored Dance Seminars, 1971 to 1991" pp. 74 (Dance in Canada Vol. 30, 1 2008).

Several dancers also went and spent a year of training at Studio Virsky in Kyiv. Still later other workshops evolved, one specifically was the Institute of Ukrainian Folk Dance in Lviv. In the 1980s, the Alberta Ukrainian Dance Association held summer workshops where dancers were exposed to a wide variety of dance regions and styles.

As you can see the influences are many and varied. Ukrainian Canadian choreographers, dancers and audiences inherited a staged dance tradition from Avramenko but it has been molded shaped and often reinvented.

It must be said that for many years after the Avramenko era, Hutsul and Poltava dances were danced for the most part. Other regions began to be seen in some circles but rarely. It was only with increased communication with Soviet Ukraine through workshops, tours and videos that new regions began to find their way into the repertoire of Canadian clubs.[77]

Most dances created every year in Alberta became highly disposable.[78] Clubs began to cater to short-term goals like receiving gold medals during the annual festival circuit and compete for interest among young people against other popular activities such

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[77] Avramenko's repertoire did include the dance Arkan, which in some cases may appear in geographic Transcarpathia, however the Ukrainian Canadian dance community imagines Ukraine dances as fitting into ethnographic categories. Transcarpathian dances in Canada are often dances from the repertoire of the Transcarpathian Ensemble but are not Hutsul, although they often include Boiko and Lemko dances within the Transcarpathian designation. According to Klara Balog, *Bereznianka* is a Lemko dance, however it is often grouped in as a Transcarpathian dance again, partly due to the way Ukrainian regions are organized in the minds of the Ukrainian Canadian dance community. This community is highly influenced by the categorical structure set out by various festivals and competitions. (Festivals often organize their categories in the following regions. Poltava (Central Ukraine), Hutsulshchyna, Bukovyna, Transcarpathia (Zakarpattia), Volyn and Polissia. In actuality, the province of Transcarpathia includes many ethnic sub groups, including Boiky, Hutsuly, Lemky but also Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians, Gypsies and Poles as discussed in Chapter I.
Throughout Ukraine, it is true that there are many other regions with a large repertoire of vival dances, as well as revival dances via their respective folk collectives but they have not as of yet become popular enough in this community to constitute their own categories in festivals. They include but are not limited to: Podilia, Pokuttia, Cherkassy, Opillia and Kuban.

[78] Many dances are created every year, only to be discarded in favour of new dances the next year.

as other types of dance, tai kwon do, music, swimming lessons and hockey. An increased concern in attracting and maintaining dancers has contributed to a decrease in desire for traditional forms.

The 1990s brought a new wave of Ukrainian dance choreographers to Canada. These choreographers had come from a variety of backgrounds and almost completely took over the leadership of the majority of Ukrainian Canadian dance clubs. There was a sort of insecurity among Ukrainian Canadians that, since they were born in Canada, they were less qualified to disseminate dance and culture than someone born in Ukraine. The style, strength in execution and charisma that these individuals from Ukraine brought with them, not to mention the sheer amount of information about step lexicon, music and costumes, was very impressive. The control of most groups was relinquished to the authority of those instructors who were born in Ukraine.

Many clubs had had a family/community sense about them and instructors shared in that. In more recent times, clubs are perceived by instructors as vehicles to economic stability. Being hired by a club is a job and job security is important. Therefore a sort of competitiveness has evolved for the best jobs and the most students. This fuelled the onset of the spectacular paradigm. Clubs that had the best costumes, best music, most interesting dances, would receive the most gold medals in the competition circuit. This would ultimately attract the most dancers and contributed to instructor job security. There was little room or time to focus on the retention of more traditional forms.

Bereznianka Journeys to Canada

Bereznianka was not part of the repertoire of the early Ukrainian Canadian pioneers, as most of them came from Bukovyna and Galicia, nor was it present in Avramenko's repertoire. Transcarpathian dances, including *Bereznianka,* arrived with the Soviet influence as described above.

After 1969, Humeniuk's book *Ukrainskyi narodnyi tantsi* [Ukrainian Folk Dances] became available throughout Ukraine and North America. When the Virsky Company began to tour Canada and the United States in the 1960s, *Bereznianka* was a staple in their repertoire and continues to be so today. Especially in the later years they made their music and video footage available. The Apon video series "My Ukraine" often highlighted dance companies from throughout Ukraine and *Bereznianka* is featured on both cassettes 17 and 19, a popular resource for dance choreographers.

In the 1970*s* and 1980*s*, Klara Balog was invited to Canada, to give several dance seminars in Fort Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan. Many students attended every year and then proceeded to teach throughout the towns and communities of Alberta. Among the dances learned at these seminars were *Dubotanets*, *Rakovet'skyi Kruchenyi* and *Tropotianka*. Of course *Bereznianka*, one of Klara's well-known pieces and was also regularly taught.

Beginning in the 1979, through the 1990*s* and periodically today, Ukrainian Canadians traveled to Ukraine to spend a year studying at Studio Virsky or other institutions in Kyiv. Often, these dancers would learn *Bereznianka*. European Ukrainian instructors now working in Canada may have learned *Bereznianka* directly by dancing in the Virsky Ensemble, studying at Studio Virsky, studying at the Institute of Culture in Kyiv or a variety of provincial cultural institutes.

The Edmonton based dance club Cheremosh made *Bereznianka* part of their repertoire in 1979 and also released a cassette with the available music. *Bereznianka* also became institutionalized in Canada via the Shumka Syllabus for Ukrainian dance where the main step from *Bereznianka* is taught as Krok *Bereznianka*.

There are also several audio recordings of music for *Bereznianka* available.

The following list outlines where *Bereznianka* can be found.

Bereznianka in Print

- Humeniuk
- Kim Vasylenko
- Shumka Syllabus

Bereznianka in Institutions:

- Virsky & Studio Virsky
- Fort Qu'Apelle, Saskatchewan
- Transcarpathian Collective
- Institute Kultura, Kyiv
- Provincial Institutes of Culture
- Shumka Syllabus for Ukrainian Dance

Bereznianka in Video Media:

- Virsky Ensemble
- Transcarpathian Ensemble

Bereznianka in Audio Media

- Virsky
- Cheremosh
- Ron Cahute

Although Klara Balog taught several of her dances at her seminars, I argue that due to the influence and impact of the Virsky Ensemble, the availability of the music and videos, *Bereznianka* proliferated much more than the other dances. *Bereznianka* has become a staple in the learning of Ukrainian dance and has become the most recognizable dance symbol of Transcarpathian Ukrainian dance. There was a time when that melody

was so common that people would complain that they could not get the tune out of their head after a day at Ukrainian dance festivals. Some festivals are organized such that all the Transcarpathian dances are performed at one time during the course of the festival. Because of this, the same tune was played 6 or more times in one session.

Manifestations of Bereznianka in Canada

Standard

I have observed three strategies for creating new staged productions of *Bereznianka* in the Ukrainian Canadian dance community. Some instructors attempt to replicate the Virsky version as closely as possible. As I have explained above, the Virsky version of *Bereznianka* has become the accepted standard version, to the extent that the original choreographer Klara Balog herself adopted his model. I call this the "standard" strategy. I have observed many examples of the standard strategy in both rural and urban Ukrainian dance clubs over the course of my research. They were found in the video archive collection at the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archive and through my personal dance and teaching career over the past ten years. By thoroughly scrutinizing a video of the Virsky ensemble performing or by attending a workshop, then utilizing the readily available music, many attempt to replicate the Virsky composition as closely as possible.

Although clearly attempting to mimic the Virsky version, the club may not be able to replicate it exactly. Variations occur when dancers do not have the time, the training or the resources to achieve an exact replica of the Virsky Ensemble. Virsky's dancers are professionals, practicing often 8 hours per day. In Alberta on the other hand,

the most accomplished ensembles practice from 6 to 12 hours per week. The schools and clubs for younger dancers or for recreation may only practice for 1 or 2 hours per week. In that time they may develop 3 or more dances over the course of 25-30 weeks. The instructors also have a varying degree of ability to teach the dancers and prepare them for performance. Much depends on the availability of funds, the size of the club and the aspirations of its members.

While the Virsky ensemble has been performing this dance regularly for over 30 years, local Alberta groups learn this dance in one year (perhaps with 20 hours of rehearsal) and discard it in favor of a new dance after performing it several times.[79] When *Bereznianka* is performed, it may be in a local theatre or it may be in a home for the elderly, a school gym or at a Ukrainian dance festival and the possibility exists for several little mistakes every time it is performed. The dancers work as hard as they can and the parents are proud when they watch them perform on stage "maintaining" their culture.

Standard versions I have observed often use the Virsky music and follow the Virsky framework. The dancers always enter doing the main step from up stage right and up stage left. Male dancers always initiate the main portion of the dance showing off the "stick."[80] There are always 3 solo sections and then the dance shifts into a section with circular formations. The end of the dance begins when all of the couples line up at the back of the stage and prepare for a final charge toward the audience. Sometimes the

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[79] Sometimes clubs will keep a popular dance for up to two or three yeas. Usually the large groups, Cheremosh, Shumka and Volya do not perform well-known dances and are more inclined to performing original creations. Although each group has restaged other well known choreographies in the past.

[80] No dancers I know in Canada are aware of the term "kurahu." It is also likely that few are aware of its earlier purpose during weddings, or that the dance is associated with wedding processions at all.

dance will end at this point but often, in replicating the standard version, there will be a short encore before the exit, which is executed while doing the main step.

Because of the difference in training between the Virsky Ensemble dancers and the Canadians, the dance may not be as sharp, the feet may not be as stretched, the spine may not be as elongated. Not every dancer will be the same height and the costumes may not fit exactly. In Canada however, the dancers and instructors generally aspire to these same aesthetic values.

The first example of a standard strategy being employed by a Ukrainian dance club in Canada is a 1979 performance by the Cheremosh Ukrainian Dancers. Cheremosh was and is one of Edmonton's premier Ukrainian dance groups. Their version of *Bereznianka* is clearly an attempt to replicate the Virsky version, however some significant changes have been made. Rick Wacko and Lawrence Kenakin of Cheremosh observed Klara teaching a workshop in Saskatchewan. They did not participate directly in that workshop, but acquired a baian score of the music at that time. They passed the score to Cheremosh's music director, Eugene Zwozdesky. It was based on this limited information that Cheremosh performed this dance.

Cheremosh Ukrainian Dancers

See Video Example 7

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.
V indication a variation or simplification from the Virsky/Balog version of dance.

Beats	MS	Music Section	Focus
6		Zavhorodnyi Intro	
8	MS	Music Section 1	All dancers enter doing main step
6	MS		
6	MS		
12		Martin Intro	V - 2 men solo and stick toss
8	MS	Music Section 1	Join with partners, travel to circle
6	MS		
6	MS		
8	MS	Music Section 1	V - Circle Section
6			
6			
8	MS	Music Section 1	Spiral Section
6			
6			
8	MS	Music Section 4	1st solo (1 male - 2 female)
8			
8		Music Section 4	2nd solo (2 male – 2 female)
8			
8	MS	Music Section 4	V - 3rd solo (2 male – 2 female)
8			
Pause			
"Hey"			
8	MS	Music Section 1	Circle Section II
6	MS		
6			
8		Music Section 1	
6	MS		V - Travel to back
6			
8	MS	Music Section 1	Rush the audience doing main step
6			
6			
Pause			V - Bow
2 drum beats			
8	MS	Music Section 1	Finale and exit
6			
6			

Name of performing group: Cheremosh Ukrainian Dancers

Instructor/Choreographer: Rick Wacko & Lawence Kenakin

Description of performing group: Amateur performing group in Edmonton, AB

Name given to dance: *Bereznianka*

When performed: 1979

Where performed: Edmonton, Alberta – Jubilee Auditorium (large theatre)

Number of dancers: 6 Males 6 Females

Age of dancers: 16-35

Length of dance: 3:15

Description of Music:
Live music orchestrated and conducted by Gene Zwozdesky based on sheet music from Klara Balog

Description of Costumes and Props:
Use of both sticks and hankies
Costumes are a generic Transcarpathian costume. It seems that aspects of this costume were from the Hutsul costume wardrobe

Description of Dance: (entrance, solos, circles, exit, use of vocals)
Based on Virsky's model but without the training of the Virsky dancers. Some combinations have been altered and simplified.

Audience reaction:
Much applause

Let us examine a Standard version of *Bereznianka* performed by the Sopilka Ukrainian dance club of Vegreville, Alberta. This performance of *Bereznianka* is by the senior class consisting of dancers in their late teens and early twenties. They perform annually on an outdoor festival stage to a crowd of parents, friends and relatives of the dancers as well as members of the community. This dance was clearly an attempt to replicate the original, but instead of 10 couples, they only had 6 females and 4 males. The solos were simplified slightly so that the men did not have to complete a full squat motion and the females did not have to spin as quickly. They utilized the Virsky version of the *Bereznianka* music but the costume is a generic Transcarpathian costume. At one point in the dance someone lost a skirt, which lay on the stage from that time on, and was even kicked around a bit. Despite these deviations from the Virsky model, the crowd cheered throughout and the dancers appear to have thoroughly enjoyed themselves.

Sopilka

See Video Example 8

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.
V indication a variation or simplification from the Virsky/Balog version of dance.

Beats	MS	Music Section	Focus
6		Zavhorodnyi Intro	
8	MS	Music Section 1	All dancers enter doing main step
6	MS		
6	MS		
12		Martin Intro	2 men solo and stick toss
8	MS	Music Section 1	V - Join with partners, travel to circle
6	MS		
6	MS		
8	MS	Music Section 1	V - Circle Section
6			
6			
8	MS	Music Section 1	V - Spiral Section
6			
6			
8	MS	Music Section 4	V - 1st solo (2 male - 2 female)
8			
8		Music Section 4	V - 2nd solo (2 male – 2 female)
8			
8	MS	Music Section 4	V - 3rd solo (2 male – 2 female)
8			
Pause			
"Hey"			
8	MS	Music Section 1	Circle Section II
6	MS		
6			
8		Music Section 1	
6	MS		V - Travel to back
6			
8	MS	Music Section 1	Rush the audience doing main step
6			
6			
Pause			V - Bow
2 drum beats			
8	MS	Music Section 1	Finale and exit
6			
6			

Name of performing group: Sopilka

Instructor/Choreographer: Ken Kachmar

Description of performing group: located in Vegreville Alberta, recreational, once a week

Name given to dance: *Bereznianka*

When performed: 1995

Where performed: outdoor grandstand stage

Number of dancers: 6 females 6 males

Age of dancers: 20's and 30's

Length of dance: 3:45

Description of Music: Virsky Orchestra

Description of Costumes and Props:
Use of both sticks and hankies
Costume is a typical Transcarpathian silhouette but the girls are in red rather than blue as in the Virsky/Balog version

Description of Dance: (entrance, solos, circles, exit, use of vocals)
Standard – replica of Virsky version
Simplified solo section

Audience reaction:
Quite noisy during performance

Other:
Lost skirt

Zoloto

See Video Example 9

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.
V indication a variation or simplification from the Virsky/Balog version of dance.

Beats	MS	Music Section	Focus
6		Zavhorodnyi Intro	
8	MS	Music Section 1	All dancers enter doing main step
6	MS		
6	MS		
12		Martin Intro	V – no stick toss!
8	MS	Music Section 1	V - Join with partners, travel to circle
6	MS		
6	MS		
8	MS	Music Section 1	Circle Section
6			
6			
8	MS	Music Section 1	Spiral Section
6			
6			
8	MS	Music Section 4	1st solo (1 male - 2 female)
8			
8		Music Section 4	V - 2nd solo (2 male – 2 female)
8			
8	MS	Music Section 4	3rd solo (2 male – 2 female)
8			
Pause			
"Hey"			
8	MS	Music Section 1	Circle Section II
6	MS		
6			
8		Music Section 1	
6	MS		Travel to back
6			
8	MS	Music Section 1	Rush the audience doing main step
6			
6			
Pause			Bow
2 drum beats			
8	MS	Music Section 1	Finale and exit
6			
6			

Name of performing group: Zoloto

Instructor/Choreographer: unknown

Description of performing group: group from Winnipeg

Name given to dance: *Berezhanka*

When performed: 1994

Where performed: Canada's National Ukrainian Festival in Dauphin, Manitoba

Number of dancers: 6 females 6 males

Age of dancers: late teens to 20's and 30's

Length of dance: 3:45

Description of Music: Virsky Orchestra

Description of Costumes and Props:
Use of both sticks and hankies
The silhouette very much resembles the Virsky Ensembles costume but it is difficult to make out the colour

Description of Dance: (entrance, solos, circles, exit, use of vocals)
Standard – replica of Virsky version
Very professional and well done
Audience reaction:
Much applause and enthusiasm

Athabasca

See Video Example 10

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.
V indication a variation or simplification from the Virsky/Balog version of dance.

Beats	MS	Music Section	Focus
6		Zavhorodnyi Intro	
8	MS	Music Section 1	All dancers enter doing main step
6	MS		
6	MS		
12		Martin Intro	V - 2 men solo and stick toss
8	MS	Music Section 1	V - Join with partners, travel to circle
6	MS		
6	MS		
8		Music Section 1	V - Circle Section
6			
6			
8		Music Section 1	Spiral Section
6			
6			
8		Music Section 4	V - 1st solo (1 male - 2 female)
8			
8		Music Section 4	V - 2nd solo (1 male – 2 female)
8			
8	MS	Music Section 4	V - 3rd solo (all remaining 6 females)
8			
8	MS	Music Section 1	V - Circle Section II
6			
6			
8		Music Section 1	
6	MS		Travel to back
6			
8	MS	Music Section 1	Rush the audience doing main step
6			
6			
8		Music Section 1	Finale and exit
6			
6			

Name of performing group: Athabasca

Instructor/Choreographer: Debbie Kachmar

Description of performing group: located in Athabasca Alberta, recreational, once a week

Name given to dance: *Bereznianka*

When performed: Spring 2004

Where performed: school gym stage

Number of dancers: 8 female – 2 males

Age of dancers: perhaps 30's but mostly older

Length of dance: 3:25

Description of Music: Ron Cahute

Description of Costumes and Props:
The costumes are green and do resemble the Virsky/Balog costume. They are a generic costume most likely used for all Transcarpathian dances from year to year
There are no hankies but the 2 males each have a stick

Description of Dance: (entrance, solos, circles, exit, use of vocals)
This dance is clearly based on Bereznianka but with many sections simplified. Some changes are as a result of the number of dancers

Audience reaction:
Clapping the entire time

Other:
Many mistakes

Vitrak

See Video Example 11

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.
V indication a variation or simplification from the Virsky/Balog version of dance.

Beats	MS	Music Section	Focus
6		Zavhorodnyi Intro	
8	MS	Music Section 1	All dancers enter doing main step
6	MS		
6	MS		
12		Martin Intro	V - 2 men solo and stick toss
8	MS	Music Section 1	Join with partners, travel to circle
6	MS		
6	MS		
8	MS	Music Section 1	Circle Section
6			
6			
8		Music Section 1	V - Spiral Section
6			
6			
8	MS	Music Section 4	V - 1st solo (2 male - 3 female)
8			
8		Music Section 4	V - 2nd solo (2 male – 2 female)
8			
8	MS	Music Section 4	V - 3rd solo (2 male – 2 female)
8			
Pause			
"Hey"			
8		Music Section 1	Travel to back
6			Exit
6			

Name of performing group: Vitrak

Instructor/Choreographer: Tim & Cindy Baydala

Description of performing group: located in Vegreville Alberta, recreational, once a week

Name given to dance: *Zakarpatska Bereznyanka*

When performed: Spring 2002

Where performed: stage in local hall

Number of dancers: 10 female – 4 males

Age of dancers: perhaps 30's but mostly older

Length of dance: 3:25

Description of Music: Virsky Orchestra

Description of Costumes and Props:
The costumes do resemble the Virsky/Balog costume. They are a generic costume most likely used for all Transcarpathian dances from year to year
They make use of the hankies and sticks but not to the same degree as in the Virsky/Balog version

Description of Dance: (entrance, solos, circles, exit, use of vocals)
This dance is clearly based on Bereznianka but with many sections simplified. Some changes are as a result of the number of dancers

Audience reaction:
Clapping the entire time

Other:
Many mistakes

Sometimes, when replicating the dance *Bereznianka*, there is a desire to be as close to the "original" as possible. Of course, for most instructors in the Ukrainian Canadian dance community, the original is a very theatricalized Virsky *Bereznianka*, distanced from its vival dance which inspired it by several degrees of separation.[81] The main step is no longer called *triasuchka* or *zakarpats'ki dribushky*, it is now called "*Bereznianka* step," "*Krok Bereznianka*," "Main Step," "toe up hop," "1-2 kick," or nothing at all.

Adaptation

A second strategy I have observed can be considered **Adaptation**. One popular reason not to replicate Virsky's composition is that it is not possible. Circumstances prevent amateur groups from ever achieving the technical level set by the Virsky Ensemble and any attempt is always compared somewhat to the Virsky model. Given this understanding, what can be taken from the Virsky model without embarrassing the dancers or the instructor?

The Adaptation strategy, which is the most common version of *Bereznianka* in my study area, has many connections with the primary stage model of *Bereznianka* but with a variety of adaptations. The main step continues to dominate and provides a thread through the dance and a link with the standard stage version. This is one of the few links to the vival dance-like activity from the county of Velykyi Bereznyi. The Adaptation strategy often involves retaining the name of the dance and utilizes the Virsky music.

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[81] I am not aware of any choreographers that have done any field research and are using original source material for Bereznianka, or for almost any other Ukrainian dance performed in this community.

Everything else, including the number of dancers, the costumes, the formations and combinations, are all open for creative interpretation.

Sometimes the stick is left out and often the hankie has been discarded. The decision regarding props may also be the result of the availability of volunteers to make the props or the skill of the dancers to manage a prop. The instructor may chose to focus on ensuring the dancers master the difficult main step, depending on the age and experience of the dancers. Most often the costume no longer resembles the Virsky ensemble costume. Typically, the club will purchase or create some type of generic Transcarpathian costume that can be used for other Transcarpathian dances over several years. I refer to a generic Transcarpathian costume as one that been made or purchased by a club to facilitate the performance of many different Transcarpathian dances regardless of their geographic or ethnographic connection within the province. I have been present when a club is selecting a costume design. In my opinion, it is often an aesthetic choice rather than one based on specific knowledge or concern with the sub-regional variations.

I have observed that it is important for clubs that their dancers have a variety of experiences and learn some movements from many regions. Often equality of participation and the value of the experience are valued more than the quality of the final dance.[82] Ukrainian dance is very often about identity, fitness, culture as well as a social activity. Some clubs however, have a mandate of preparing dancers for a future dance

[82] This is similar to that of a recreational school basketball, hockey or soccer team. It is important that all players get a chance to play and they enjoy their playing experience.

career in one of the larger dance groups. Every club struggles to balance the different aspirations of the dancers, the parents and the choreographers.[83]

In some cases this may also lead to the debate regarding authenticity versus creativity, which remains an underlying dynamic in all clubs. There are cases when the instructor may be attempting to be authentic but the result is actually something far from it. Club members and the community will discuss, sometimes at length, if the dance is authentic or not. There are many within the Ukrainian Canadian stage dance community who would regard the Virsky or standard version as the most "authentic." They may not realize that it is a very theatricalized symbol of something that happened during a village wedding and that it had already gone through a series of filters before it reached Canada.[84]

This version in particular involved a very good group of young teenage dancers whose instructor kept the music, the name of the dance and the main step. The dance began in a way that was reminiscent of the Virsky version of *Berezhianka* and the main step was the choreographic thread that maintained continuity throughout the piece. However, the choreographic patterns, the boys', girls' and couples' combinations were all new inventions inspired by the mood of the music with only a loose reference to the original dance. In this case the costumes were a generic Transcarpathian costume used for a variety of Transcarpathian dances from year to year. Neither the handkerchief nor the stick were utilized.

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[83] While some clubs or even some classes within a club may have a very intense competitive atmosphere and a high standard of performance, others may be purely recreational.

[84] Many consider Virsky's work to be a Ukrainian treasure in its own right, and want to produce a performance authentic to that "original," dropping the concern with any rural "pre-original" source.

Shumka School

See Video Example 12

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.
V indication a variation or simplification from the Virsky/Balog version of dance.

Beats	MS	Music Section	Focus
6		New Zavhorodnyi Intro	
8	MS	Music Section 1	All girls enter doing main step
6	MS		
6			
12		Martin Intro	
8		Music Section 1	boys enter
6			
6			
8		Music Section 1	
6			
6			
8		Music Section 1	
6			
6			
8		Music Section 4	solo - all boys
8			
8		Music Section 4	solo - all girls
8			
8		Music Section 4	
8			
Pause			
"Hey"			
8		Bow and exit	
6			

Name of performing group: Shumka School of Dance

Instructor: Dave Ganert

Description of performing group:

Name of dance: *Bereznianka*

When performed: Spring 2004

Where performed: Horowitz Theatre, Edmonton

Number of dancers: 11 female – 4 males

Age of dancers: 9-11

Length of dance: 2:24

Description of Music: Virsky Ensemble Music

Description of Costumes and Props:
No sticks – No hankies
Costumes are a generic Transcarpathian costume used for all Transcarpathian dances

Description of Dance: (entrance, solos, circles, exit, use of vocals)
Totally new invented dance that utilizes Main Step

Audience reaction:
Much applause

Troyanda

See Video Example 13

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.
V indication a variation or simplification from the Virsky/Balog version of dance.

*Reminder – this is not Bereznianka music

Beats	MS		Focus
8			
8	MS	-	entrance doing main step
8			
8			
8			
8			
8			
8			
8			
8			
8			
12			
12			
12			
12			
8			
8			
8			
8			
8			
8	MS		

Name of performing group: Troyanda

Instructor: Ken Kachmar

Description of performing group: Ukrainian dance club

Name of dance: *Bereznianka*

When performed:

Where performed: Grande Prairie School Gym

Number of dancers: 5 female – 1 males

Age of dancers: 11-15

Length of dance: 2:45

Description of Music: Bubnarskyi from Cheremosh

Description of Costumes and Props:
No sticks – No hankies
Costumes are a generic Transcarpathian costume used for all Transcarpathian dances

Description of Dance: (entrance, solos, circles, exit, use of vocals)
Totally new invented dance that utilizes Main Step

Audience reaction:
Much applause

I think the previous examples show how the dance has become a symbol of Transcarpathia. It has been elevated to represent a particular area of Ukraine but only a few of the key elements remain. Despite the changes, there remains a desire to stay connected in some way to what is perceived to be the "traditional" aspects of this dance. I believe this is achieved by some combination of name of the dance, the music, the props and the main step.

In another unique version of this dance, only one couple utilizes the stick, and it gets passed around throughout the dance. The main step is the main choreographic link, and the stick has been upheld as strong link to the original. In this case however, even the music was replaced by another Transcarpathian tune.

Dance Unlimited

Video Example 14

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.
V indication a variation or simplification from the Virsky/Balog version of dance.

*Reminder – this is not Bereznianka music

Beats	MS	Focus
8		One boy and 2 girls enter with stick
8	MS	boy teases girls with stick
8		
8	MS	everyone else enters doing main step
8		
8	MS	boys show off the stick
8		
8		the boys pass the stick around
8		
8		boys section
8		
8		
8		
8	MS	
8	MS	
8		circle section reminiscent of Virsky/Balog
8		
8		Circle section II reminiscent of Virsky/Balog
8		travel to line at back
8	MS	girl shows off the stick
8	MS	Rush the audience
8		final pose

Name of performing group: Dance Unlimited

Instructor: Doug Rachinski

Description of performing group: Dance school that teaches Ukrainian but also, jazz, tap, ballet and musical theatre

Name of dance: *Robit' Tak*

When performed: Spring 2004

Where performed: Festival Place, Sherwood Park, AB

Number of dancers: 10 female – 4 males

Age of dancers: 8-11

Length of dance: 3:00

Description of Music: Tropotianka by Ron Cahute

Description of Costumes and Props:
1 sticks – No hankies
Costume resemble the Virsky/Balog version

Description of Dance: (entrance, solos, circles, exit, use of vocals)
Totally new invented dance that utilizes Main Step. It also plays with the idea that the stick is something that the other dancer want

Audience reaction:
Much applause

Remnant

In the third strategy, which I call "remnant," there is less and less that remains of the standard and accepted version of this dance. Perhaps the main step is all that remains. All previous versions of *Bereznianka* were stand-alone couple dances. Here however, *Bereznianka* can be choreographed as a solo, duet, trio or girls' dance. I have never seen it as a boys' dance yet. In addition, the main step is found in suites that display a variety of regions. *Pryvit* is a welcome dance, also popularized by Pavlo Virsky, that many clubs have in their repertoire. This dance showcases a variety of regions from Ukraine simultaneously in a sweeping overview of the concert to come. *Pryvit* is traditionally performed as the very first dance in a concert and includes a presentation of bread and salt from the dancers to the audience. Each region displays their individuality. Transcarpathia is very often displayed if the club owns Transcarpathian costumes.[85] In addition to Virsky's *Pryvit,* the Virsky Ensemble has a Carpathian Suite in their repertoire which includes the regions in and around the Carpathian mountains. These include the Hutsul region, the Buko region and Transcarpathia. It is common practice in the Ukrainian Canadian stage dance community to copy Virsky's model and adapt it to meet the needs of the club. It is interesting to note that European born instructors never seem to employ this strategy.

"Storyline" concept concerts are popular with Ukrainian dance groups in Canada. Often the story that is being told is carefully crafted to allow inclusion or most or all of

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[85] Many clubs maintain a wardrobe of regions. It was once that everyone kept their own costumes but now often just Polava and sometimes Hutsul as well.

the regions that the club has in its costume wardrobe. This approach is peculiar, but quite common, because clubs want to showcase all the costumes that they have spend much time, energy and money acquiring. Additionally the dancers are interested in sampling all the different styles of Ukrainian dance. Rural communities also sometimes employ this storyline idea to enrich their concert. In many of these situations where Transcarpathia is displayed, the main step from *Bereznianka* is used.

Present here is the desire to keep something traditional so that the dance remains accepted within the Ukrainian stage dance community. However the instructors, the students and parents desire for creativity has pushed the boundaries. The main step and the music for example, become the symbols, brand or logo that allows the dance to be considered Transcarpathian. In the examples I have collected, sometimes the dance is still obviously inspired by *Bereznianka* but it has been renamed. Examples of titles used are: "Transcarpathian Rhythms," "Transcarpathian Melody" or "*Zakarpat'skyi Tanets*," which simply means Transcarpathian dance. In other examples the dance is clearly based on *Bereznianka* but the music has been replaced by other Transcarpathian songs. Often the music, whether it be *Bereznianka* or another Transcarpathian tune, has been either shortened, lengthened or altered in some way to suit the needs of that group in that year.

Other interesting Remnant variants occur when the *Bereznianka* step or other movements derived from this dance find their way into other Transcarpathian dances. This may include putting the main step in dances like *Dubotants* or *Tropotianka*. There are many generic Transcarpathia dances that are staged every year. The main step from the dance *Bereznianka* very often finds its way into these dances.

Vohon

See Video Example 15

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.
V indication a variation or simplification from the Virsky/Balog version of dance.

*Reminder – this is not Bereznianka music

Beats	MS	Focus
8		
8	MS	all enter reminiscent of Virsky/Balog
8		
8		rush the audience
8		
8		
8		
8		girls hold sticks
8		
8		
8		
8	MS	boys take stick and travel to circle
8		circle II reminiscent of Virsky/Balog
8		girls take stick while lifted by boys
8		lift
8		finish

Name of performing group: Vohon

Instructor: Debbie & Ken Kachmar

Description of performing group: Large Ukrainian dance club in Edmonton.

Name of dance: *Pryvit*

When performed: Spring 2004

Where performed: Festival Place, Sherwood Park, AB

Number of dancers: 3 female – 3 males

Age of dancers: late teens to mid twenties

Length of dance: 2:00

Description of Music: Tropotianka by Ron Cahute

Description of Costumes and Props:
3 sticks – No hankies
Costume do not resemble the Virsky/Balog version

Description of Dance: (entrance, solos, circles, exit, use of vocals)
Totally new invented dance that utilizes Main Step.
This dance is part of a larger dance that represents all the regions of Ukraine

Audience reaction:
Much applause

Barvinok

See Video Example 16

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.
V indication a variation or simplification from the Virsky/Balog version of dance.

Beats	MS	Music Section	Focus
6		New Zavhorodnyi Intro	
8		Music Section 1	All girls enter
6			
6			end in line with variation of main step (MS)
12		Martin Intro	rush audience with MS variation
8		Music Section 1	1 girl solo
6			
6			
8		Music Section 1	
6			
6			
8		M[illegible]ction 1	circle section
6			
6			
8		Music Section 4	
8			
8		Music Section 4	
8			
8		Music Section 4	
8			
Pause			
8		Bow and exit	
6			
6			

St. Basils

See Video Example 17

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.
V indication a variation or simplification from the Virsky/Balog version of dance.

Beats	MS	Music Section	Focus
6		Intro	
8		Music Section 1	everyone enters
6			
6			
8		Music Section 1	
6			
6			
8		Music Section 1	
6			
6			
8		Music Section 1	
6			
6			
8		Music Section 4	
8			
8		Music Section 4	
8			
8		Music Section 1	
6			
6			
8		Music Section 1	
6			
6			
8		Music Section 1	
6			
6			bow and exit

Peace River Muzyka Dancers

See Video Example 18

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.
V indication a variation or simplification from the Virsky/Balog version of dance.

Beats	MS	Music Section	Focus
6		New Zavhorodnyi Intro	
8		Music Section 1	All girls enter
6			
6	MS		
12		Martin Intro	
8		Music Section 1	
6			
6			
8	MS	Music Section 1	
6			
6			
8	MS	Music Section 1	
6			
6			
8	MS	Music Section 4	rush audience
8			
8		Music Section 4	
8			
8	MS	Music Section 4	
8			
Pause			
8	MS	Music Section 1	
6	MS		
6	MS	exit	

Spirit River Ukrainian Dancers – Transcarpathian Solo
See Video Example 19

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.
V indication a variation or simplification from the Virsky/Balog version of dance.

*Reminder – this is not Bereznianka music

Beats	MS	Focus
4		
12		
12		
12		variation of main step
12		
12		
12		
12	MS	
12		
12	MS	exit

Peace River Solo

See Video Example 20

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.
V indication a variation or simplification from the Virsky/Balog version of dance.

*Reminder – this is not Bereznianka music

Beats	MS	Focus
5		
8	MS	entrance
8	MS	
8		
8		
8		
8		
6		
7		
7		
8	MS	
8	MS	
7		
7		
8		
12		exit

St. Paul

See Video Example 21

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.
V indication a variation or simplification from the Virsky/Balog version of dance.

*Reminder – this is not Bereznianka music

Beats	MS	Focus
5		
8		entrance
8		
8		
8		
8		
8		
6		
7		
7		
8		
8		
7		
7		
8		
8		
8		
8		
8		
12		
pause		
8		
8		
8		
8		
8		
8	MS	
8		
8		

Vermillion

See Video Example 22

Beat indicates the number of beats in the musical phrase.
MS indicates where dancers are doing the Main Step of Bereznianka.
Focus is a general description of what is happening.
V indication a variation or simplification from the Virsky/Balog version of dance.

*Reminder this is not Bereznianka music

Beats	MS	Focus
4		
8		
8		
8		
8		
8		
8		
8		
8		
8		
8		
8	MS	
8	MS	
8		
8		
8		
8		

In the above examples, one can see how little remains of the standard version of Bereznianka. Sometimes it is only the main step of *Bereznianka*, a new logo, that symbolizes Transcarpathian dance culture. Other times it is just the music or the name or a prop. The process of reinventing the dance *Bereznianka* in Canada, going through the changes I have outlined above and re-filtering it through the experience and context of the Ukrainian Canadian stage dance community, is what I understand to be the second series of filters.

Chapter IV Evolution

As mentioned in the introduction, I am also an instructor within the Ukrainian Canadian dance community. During the 2005-2006 season, I had the opportunity to stage a Transcarpathian dance for a group of 12 year old students. I felt it would be an opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of *Bereznianka*. I staged an "adaptation" of the Virsky version. I utilized the music produced by the Virsky dance company, although I shortened it because of time limits imposed by the various competitions. The club agreed to make props so that each of the five boys and seven girls could have a decorated staff and hankie respectively. We called the dance *Bereznianka* but used generic Transcarpathian costumes that the club had within their previously established wardrobe.

Figure 24. Photo – Alberta Zirka Ukrainian Dancers 2006

Whereas the props, music, name and the main step emulated the Virsky ensemble choreography, the dance composition itself did not. The club was happy and the students enjoyed the challenge of learning the *Bereznianka* step and the energy of the music.

At our second competition, the adjudicator was from Ukraine, and a newcomer to the Ukrainian Canadian dance community. Although he was very well educated in Ukraine with an impressive resume, he had only been in Canada for a short time. His reaction to our presentation of *Bereznianka* was unexpected, but most welcome for discussion purposes here. During the presentation of awards, he shared his thoughts about *Bereznianka* with the audience and other instructors. He suggested that *Bereznianka* was a "classic" and if you are not going to do it the way it is "supposed" to be done (ie. The Virsky/Balog version) then it is better not to do it at all. He mentioned Klara Balog as a famous choreographer, that this was "her" work and the choreographer (me) was insulting the "original." He did not say that this choreography was stolen but it was insinuated, perhaps to highlight his expertise or reveal my plagiarism.

A discussion ensued soon afterwards with other choreographers in the lobby, two of them from Kyiv, who have both been instructing within the Ukrainian Canadian dance community for at least a decade. Both of these instructors were familiar with the reality of teaching dance in Alberta, trying to make a living with limited resources. Both instructors agreed that the adjudicator was right in a sense; *Bereznianka* was a classic icon of Ukrainian national culture. Klara Balog's choreography has been recognized worldwide as an elevated example of Ukrainian staged folk dance. She has received numerous awards and is a celebrated artist of Ukraine. Any copy of her choreography, meaning Virsky's modification of her choreography, can only be a lesser version.

Perhaps it would be better to do something else rather than to dilute her masterpiece. Similarly, I would argue, in popular culture, many copies of Da Vinci's "Mona Lisa" will always be exactly that; copies, reproductions. Nothing will ever compete with the original. However, it remains true that thousands of copies, parodies, reproductions and variations of the "Mona Lisa" do exist and continue to be created.

On the other hand, some instructors felt that this adjudicator did not acknowledge the cultural context of the Ukrainian Canadian dance community sufficiently. They felt that the adjudicator did not understand the Alberta situation in several ways. It is unrealistic to expect small Ukrainian dance clubs to do *Bereznianka* in its "standard" format. The financial resources to make the costumes are not available. In most cases, the dancers are young (most club membership is between the ages of 8 and 13) and cannot execute the level required for the "standard" Virsky rendition. Rarely does a dance class contain the eight pairs of dancers necessary for a full cast.

Is it worse to do an adaptation of *Bereznianka* than to do some other generic Transcarpathian dance to the tune of *Bereznianka*? "Let the kids learn" was the comment of one instructor. During my interviews, it was clear that some instructors felt that adapting *Bereznianka* was better than breaking the connection between the original music and choreography. Other instructors prefer to create a generic Transcarpathian dance to a lesser known Transcarpathian tune.

It is interesting to contemplate the perspective of this particular adjudicator as well as the strengths and weaknesses of his argument. What are the circumstances within our cultural context that make it acceptable or unacceptable to adapt and stage

Bereznianka? What makes one instructor choose one strategy over another? I will explore this question later in this chapter.

Whose dance is it?

In the previous chapter, we explored the variety of manifestations of *Bereznianka* in Ukrainian Canadian stage dance. Let us examine the conditions that allow for this. Klara Balog staged *Bereznianka* on Pavlo Virsky's dance company and therefore it is understood that Virsky has the right to perform it. Do others have the right to stage the dance *Bereznianka*? I admit there is no simple answer. Several scholars including Egil Bakka, have written on the topic of ownership of traditional materials already.[86] I will raise some of the issues for discussion as they apply to the dance *Bereznianka*.

There are two extreme positions by which to view ownership of "folk." The standard western perception is that traditional material is communally owned and there is no copyright. The other model relates to western elite art, where art compositions are seen as personal creations with copyright. The question of whether Klara Balog had the right to use village wedding elements to create her work of stage art is not usually raised. A whole industry of staged folk dance is built upon assumption that this is legitimate.[87] It also seems fine for the Virsky Ensemble to use Balog's choreography. As I explained above, they seem to have collaborated on adapting this dance to make it more academic for Virsky's company. Pavlo Virsky's wife Valeria, who taught choreography at the

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[86] Egil Bakka, "Heir, User or Researcher: Basic Attitudes within the Norwegian Revival Movement" pp. 117-126. (*Proceedings, 17th Symposium on Ethnochoreology*, Nafplion, Greece, 1992).

[87] One exception to this rule comes from well known ethnochoreologist Egil Bakka who recalls a moment during fieldwork when an informant asked to be paid for his dance. See Egil Bakka, "Heir, User or Researcher: Basic Attitudes within the Norwegian Revival Movement" pp. 117-126. (*Proceedings, 17th Symposium on Ethnochoreology*, Nafplion, Greece, 1992).

Institute of Culture in Kyiv for many years, taught *Bereznianka* as an example of Transcarpathian dance.[88] I also learned *Bereznianka* from one of Klara Balog's protégés Vasyl' Semen. During an interview with Klara Balog herself, she said, "go ahead… stage the dance *Bereznianka*, let the dance live."[89]

However, it is not entirely clear if Klara Balog appreciates the "adaptations" or the "remnants" as they are occurring in Ukrainian Canadian stage dance. At what point is it still "the dance"? When does it cease to become Klara Balog's *Bereznianka*? Should the separate elements of the dance be treated as traditional uncopyrighted folkloric material if they are separated from her overall composition?

Anthropologists would argue that a new dance is created each time any of the strategies for selecting *Bereznianka* are realized. On the other hand, performance copyright practice suggests a requirement to consider creditation of source materials. It seems that there is a grey area between creativity and plagiarism. The three strategies identified in the previous chapter might shed some light on the grey areas in this regard.

It seems to me that any group performing a variant using the Standard strategy is clearly using Balog's dance. In this situation, the common practice is to give credit. Virsky concert programs often credit Klara Balog with the choreography and Pavlo Virsky with adaptation.[90] Even when the Transcarpathian Ensemble performs this dance, *Bereznianka* is introduced as: choreography by Klara Balog and adaptation by Pavlo

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[88] Serhij Koroliuk, May, 2006. Edmonton. Unrecorded Interview by Vincent Rees.
[89] Klara Balog, June 2005, Uzhhorod. Recorded Interview. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA 2008.025).
[90] Virsky Dance Company. Souvenir Program. 1966.

Virsky.[91] In Canada, the common practice seems to credit Klara Balog, exclude Pavlo Virsky and credit the Canadian instructor for teaching it or staging it.

When the Adaptation strategy is employed, we enter a more grey area. If the music is the same, if it remains a couple dance, the props are utilized and the steps resemble those from the "standard" *Bereznianka*, it is typically credited as an adaptation of Balog's choreography. However, it is most usually an adaptation of Pavlo Virsky's adaptation. Another common practice is to say that the dance was inspired by Klara Balog's *Bereznianka*. When the Remnant strategy is utilized, I would argue that it is a new creation. Perhaps it would be fair to at least indicate in program notes that it has been inspired by the Balog/Virsky dance.

Some might say, "who cares, let the dancers learn." Others might argue that if one is paid for their work, then they are making profit from someone else's creativity. When a radio station plays Bob Dylan, and makes a profit from subsequent advertising sold between songs, Bob Dylan makes 1 cent. Is this where Ukrainian dance is going? At what point does something created become part of public domain? These are all rhetorical questions that are mentioned to outline the complexity of understanding ownership.

Klara Balog worked the bulk of her career in the Soviet system where Western concept of legal ownership did not exist in the same way as it does in the capitalist economy of today. The issue may be less clear today because the Soviet legal system does not exist anymore. *Bereznianka* has transcended the economic reality in which it

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[91] K. Cherkashyna, *Zasluzhenyi Zakarpat'skyi Narodnyi Khor* [Honoured Transcarpathian Folk Choir] (Kyiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo obrazotvorchoho mystetstva i muzychnoi literatury URSR, 1960).

was created and management of cultural entities in the new order of things has not been established. Perhaps each instructor in each situation needs to grapple with the question of whether his or her dance should be credited as Klara Balog's creation, and to what degree.

Instructors

In the Ukrainian dance community today, there are many different perceptions of Ukrainian dance, based on the background of the instructor as well as other factors. Let us briefly examine the variety of training for Ukrainian dance instructors in this community. These generalizations may provide a base for understanding the variety of perspectives for creating or re-creating *Bereznianka*.

Some instructors within the community are former dancers with the Virsky Company of Kyiv and have been strongly influenced by Virsky's Ukrainian dance legacy. Virsky's ouput of Ukrainian dances is often held as the "ultimate" achievement in Ukrainian dance that everyone should emulate. Some instructors are former dancers with other dance companies in Kyiv or provincial companies like Nadzbruchanka, Unist, the Polissian or Bukovynian Ensembles. Others are graduates from the Institute of Culture in Kyiv or other provincial institutions producing dance leaders. These institutes, as well as arts schools, train dancers, choreographers and ballet masters.

Let me provide a brief explanation of the various designations that exist in Ukraine. A *baletmeister* [ballet-master] creates choreography. The *baletmeister*'s work may also include teaching, correcting and developing. A *khoreohraf* [choreographer] works with the choreographic piece already created by the *baletmeister*. In many cases a

single person will fulfill both roles. A *postanovnyk* [stager] takes someone else's choreography and teaches it to a dance company. A *repetitor* [rehearsal-master] is someone who deals with some of the less creative aspects of a dance company like organizing and running a rehearsal as well as teaching a class.[92] In short, the *repetitor* executes tasks or decisions of the ballet-master/choreographer much like an assistant. The title *uchytel'* [teacher] is reserved for training schools where dancers are learning how to dance.[93]

In Canada, "artistic directors", "dance teachers" or "instructors" tend to fulfill all the roles as they become necessary. I use the word "instructor" as a catch all term for teachers, choreographers, rehearsal-masters and ballet-masters in Canada.

Despite the overwhelming influence of the relatively new European Ukrainian choreographers, many Canadian born choreographers with a variety of backgrounds remain working in the community. The qualifications of many instructors consist of growing up in the Ukrainian community and dancing in a club. Many instructors have been (and still are) members of one of the semi-professional groups. These groups may offer dancers exposure to a variety of different skills, including: ballet, contemporary technique, dramatic and creative skills, regional repertoire and dramatic story telling. Instructors have varying degrees of experience in ballet, modern dance and/or jazz. Some have dance pedagogy or childhood development training. The Alberta Ukrainian Dance Association and other organizations have offered a variety of workshops since the

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[92] A "class" in ballet and in most Ukrainian staged dance groups includes the ballet *barre* and centre work exercises performed as a warm up and to develop technique.

[93] Oleksandra Kondratyeva, May, 2007. Edmonton. Unrecorded interview by Vincent Rees.

early 1980s. Some take place over a weekend, while others involve travel to Ukraine for a three week intensive seminar or a year residing in Kyiv. Workshops may be focused on learning how to be a good dancer and expanding dance skills while others may focus on teaching skills.

Some instructors have attended one workshop while others have attended many. The variety in combination of skills and training for both Ukrainian and Canadian born instructors is great. Furthermore, they are very diverse in talent, physical ability, experience, personality and other factors. There is a continual shortage of qualified Ukrainian dance instructors in the urban and rural communities and so instructors with various backgrounds and training are engaged.

Degrees of Separation

Let us discuss what instructors use as source material for choreography. There is a group or generation of choreographers, including the likes of Klara Balog who use village experiences or memories as well as interviews and field research to create choreography. Virsky himself did not go to the county of *Velykyi Bereznyi* but rather took Balog's dance as a base for his staging of the dance. Virsky's dances were taken up by young instructors of the Ukrainian stage folk dance industry and spread to new institutions. These emerging choreographers did not experience *Berezhianka* in its vival context. Perhaps some of them may have learned directly from Klara, but most of them learned it third or fourth hand, perhaps from Virsky himself, perhaps from one of his *repetitors*, or perhaps in another institution in Kyiv, Kharkiv or *Odesa*. Once in Canada,

instructors may be learning this dance with four, five, or even six degrees of separation from the original villagers around Velykyi Bereznyi.

I think its important to understand the degrees of separation this dance has from its source. This will contribute to our understanding of how this dance becomes symbolic rather than something traditional or authentic. My own experience serves as a good case study in understanding how this process works.

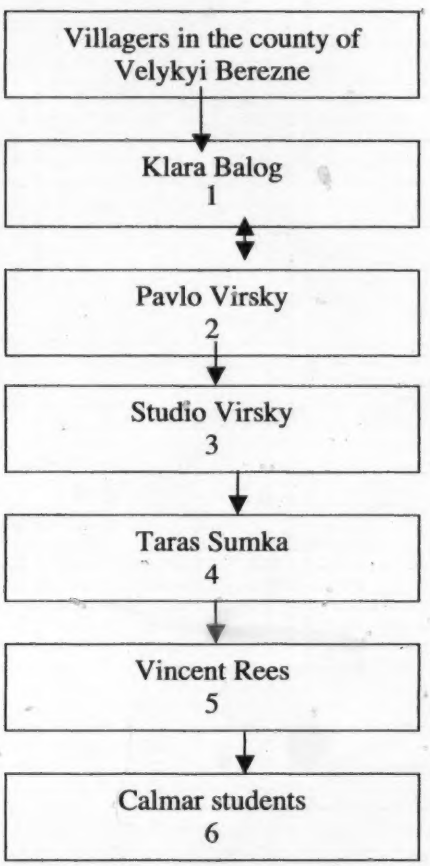

Figure 25. Chart of degrees of Separation

I first learned *Bereznianka* at a summer camp from Taras Sumka, who learned it at studio Virsky in Kyiv, who learned it from Pavlo Virsky, who learned it from Klara

Balog, who was inspired by watching a village wedding. I taught an adaptation of this dance to my students in Calmar who are thus distant from the vival *Bereznianka* experience by six degrees of separation.[94]

Source material

In Canada today the majority of choreographers use previously choreographed dances as source material. Many ensembles sell videos or DVDs that show their dances along with tapes or CDs of their music. It is much easier to use *Bereznianka's* source material if the music and pictures of the costumes are readily available. It seems that many dances done in Canada are based on Virsky dances and/or the dances of other choreographers whose material is available on video. *Hopak* is very commonly done with strong reference to Virsky's composition. So are *Pryvit* and *Povzunets'* and others. When choreographers use videos or previously choreographed dance as their source material, they inherit all kinds of symbolic baggage. Any vival material is accessed second or third (or sixth) hand as I have outlined for *Bereznianka*.

In general, vival dance is rarely used directly as inspiration for dance choreography. This is coupled with the fact that the stage dance establishment in Ukraine is not currently encouraging vival dance research. Ukraine is currently involved in a new nation building project in the post-Soviet era and folk dance in a format resembling the vival experience will not flatter the young country of Ukraine in the same way that the very stylized, flashy and spectacular Ukrainian dance genre will. In fact, Stepan

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[94] Actually, the process is somewhat more complex than this, because I learned *Bereznianka* in several ways. It is a bit harder to count the specific degrees of separation when we consider the influences that multiple teachers, films, and other sources had on me. The point is sufficiently clear however, using the simple description above.

Zabredowsky, an important teacher in a folk dance program in a post-secondary institution in Kyiv, recently expressed his opinion that, "there is nothing left in the village [to study]. We [as choreographers] must move beyond the village." Others might argue that a great richness of vival dance continues to be performed in Ukrainian villages.

Ivan Pasterlak, an ethnographer and ballet master from Uzhhorod, claims to have done much field research. Oleh Goldrich has also done some research and published extensively. Vasyl' Semen, former principle dancer with Transcarpathian collective and current Artistic Director of Karpaty in Lviv, recently staged a dance based on what he witnessed in his home village. Even these choreographers use staging techniques to create dances that are highly theatricalized. Even those that research or recall actual vival dance incorporate it only loosely into their choreography. They still focus more on character dance style encouraged by the various institutions and modeled on the Virsky style. In Canada, ethnographic approaches to choreography are extremely rare. Vival Ukrainian dance in Canada is not uncommon but it has rarely been considered as source material for stage dance.[95]

Recalling the metaphor of Ukrainian dance as a river flowing down stream, each time a dance is pulled from the river and bottled, it may combine different influences. Each new realization of *Berezhianka* will have different degrees of separation from its earliest source. This model suggests that the longer this dance continues to be staged, the further instructors will be removed from its vival dance origin. Each instructor that takes a video or remembers seeing *Berezhianka* and teaches it to his or her students is re-

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[95] Pioneer suites were popular as well as barn dances. Examples include Cheremosh, Shumka, Tryzub and Yevshan.

filtering a previously filtered dance. The differences among instructors, creates a wealth of interpretations.

Practical Considerations

If an instructor chooses to teach *Bereznianka,* it is only one dance of the many that a club may create in any given year. Now *Bereznianka* is often performed by younger dancers in both rural and urban clubs or by the adult recreational groups as mentioned when describing the Standard strategy. One factor in deciding whether *Bereznianka* should be performed is the last time it was performed within a club or a neighboring club. Just as large collectives no longer perform dances like *Bereznianka* and move on the "something new," younger dancers do not want to repeat or copy what another club has done. Dancers want to be inspired and challenged and something exciting and "new" often fulfills this need. After a few years however, a new cohort of dancers occupies the same classes, and *Bereznianka* appears new again. Another practical consideration that an instructor must deal with is the number of dancers available. Particularly if the instructor prefers the Standard strategy for staging *Bereznianka*, he or she might choose to create a different dance if there are not eight couples (or perhaps at least six) in the class that year. The reality is that the number of dancers depends on registration and participation from year to year.

Spheres of Influence

We have discussed instructor background, source material and practical considerations. These three factors are some of the tangible aspects that influence the creation of a variant of *Bereznianka.* Given his or her experience, source material and the

practical realities, the instructor now sets out to stage a variant of *Bereznianka* according to one of the three strategies. What are the spheres of influence that weigh on the instructor to choose a particular strategy? The spheres of influence below are less tangible than the factors present in the previous section. I have been influenced specifically by two scholars in this area. Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai introduced the concept cultural flows, which he calls "scapes," derived from the artistic perspective when painting landscapes. He argues that several kinds of scapes (*ideoscapes*, *technoscapes*, *mediascapes*, *financescapes*, and *ethnoscapes*) intermingle with reality in our globalized world. These scapes affect the way that we think, act and behave. Each one of these scapes can be examined separately or interactively. Ethnobotanist and anthropologist Wade Davis speaks about the "ethnosphere" as the collective human understanding.

> Together the cultures of the world make up an intellectual and spiritual web of life, an ethnosphere that envelopes and insulates the planet, and is as vital to our collective well-being as is the biosphere. Think of the ethnosphere as the sum total of thoughts, beliefs, myths, and intuitions brought into being by the human imagination since the dawn of consciousness. It is humanity's greatest legacy, the product of our dreams, the embodiment of our hopes, the symbol of all that we are and have created as a wildly inquisitive and astonishingly adaptive species.[96]

I propose to expand the use of compound words using "sphere" under influence of Appadurai's idea of "scapes." I argue that several "spheres" exist in the Ukrainian Canadian dance community, and that these are useful to identify when trying to understand influences on the way dances are created. I propose to describe the *artistic-sphere, culture-sphere, recreation-sphere, education-sphere, politic-sphere*, and

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[96] Wade Davis, "Death and life in the Ethnosphere - The Naked Geography Of Hope" (*Whole Earth*, Spring 2002).

economic-sphere, and to argue that they each influence the dynamic life of *Bereznianka*. I will first explain each sphere as I see it and then demonstrate how each seems to affect the evolution of *Bereznianka*.

Instructors themselves often enjoy being creative. This relates to what I call the artistic-sphere in the Ukrainian Canadian dance community. Although many other national dance traditions are frozen or experience a greater degree of restriction on their creative exploration, Ukrainian dance has been highly influenced by other creative art forms like theatre, jazz and ballet choreography where creativity is highlighted. Instructors and dancers are each interested in exploring their artistic side. Many Ukrainian dancers also study ballet and jazz, seen as complimentary disciplines. Instructors often try to create beautiful choreographies. They want the dancers and audiences to appreciate the quality of the choreography. This may include elements of novelty, choreographic flow, beautiful formations and transitions between them, as well as new and interesting movements.

Another sphere of influence is the culture-sphere. This sphere of influence is an umbrella for all words like heritage, ethnicity and tradition. Many families and individuals participate in Ukrainian dance because they are of Ukrainian heritage and they feel it is important for them to maintain this identity. My grandmother [*baba*] was important to me and contributed in part to my motivation for participation in Ukrainian dance. This is partly connected to the grass roots movement that led to the adoption of a policy of multiculturalism in Canada. One cannot underestimate the influence of ethnic

identity among the participants of Ukrainian dance.[97] Some instructors highlight their Ukrainian-ness as a tool in marketing themselves and inspiring the dancers.

However, this does not explain all the reasons for Ukrainian dance participation. The culture-sphere is not all-pervasive nor evenly distributed across all Ukrainian Canadian dance participants. Of my closest friends growing up doing Ukrainian dance, one was completely British, another was Polish and a third was German/Filipino. I was adopted into a Ukrainian/Welsh family. We were four of the senior male dancers in our small club. None of us was Ukrainian. For my family and the families of my friends, it was important to participate in a "cultural" activity, whether it be our own by ancestry or not. Some scholars now speak of "new ethnicity" as the situation where individuals choose their ethnicity to a certain degree, or at least choose when to engage their ethnicity.[98] For my friends and I, Ukrainian dance became "cool" and to a large degree exotic. Our instructors played to our imaginations and we were filled with stories about Kozaks and Hutsuls. This served as inspiration and part of the fun. Currently I see many students of various visible minorities enrolled in Ukrainian dance lessons because it is a well-organized cultural activity within their community.

The next sphere of influence is the recreation-sphere. This includes many aspects including fun and exercise. Fun is very important in western culture and plays a significant role in a young person's participation in any activity. If a dancer is not amused or does not enjoy the experience, he or she might not continue to participate. The physical movement in Ukrainian dance also contributes to a healthy lifestyle, which is

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[97] Nahachewsky, Andriy. "New Ethnicity and Ukrainian Canadian Social Dances." (*Journal of American Folklore*, 115/456, Spring 2002).
[98] Ibid. pp. 177-192.

important. Ukrainian dance incorporates coordination, flexibility and cardiovascular movement into a typical workout.

The physical exercise aspect of the recreation-sphere and culture-sphere moves us to discussing the education-sphere. The education-sphere involves exercise, but exercise taken beyond merely recreational activity. As within the art-sphere, there are many dancers and instructors who have aspirations for themselves or their students for a long and rewarding dance career. Many parents dream for this for their children too. A Ukrainian dancer's career may mean being accepted into one of the more prestigious dance ensembles in Edmonton or something more mainstream like a ballet company, Broadway, Las Vegas or traveling and performing on a cruise ship. With these things in mind, dancers must perfect their skills in order to compete with other dancers with the same aspirations. This includes growing and progressing from year to year, receiving awards and acclamations and being competitive with other dancers.

It is difficult to underestimate how important money is when choosing a strategy and the economic-sphere of influence cannot be overlooked. Many clubs exist only if their membership is maintained at a certain level. Without enough members, there are not enough fees generated to pay the instructor. Clubs must have a sufficient volunteer base to carry out many necessary tasks. If there are not enough dancers for the instructor to teach the club generally folds. There is a strong relationship between dancer satisfaction (and parent satisfaction) with their instructor and the viability of the club itself. The economic-sphere is also manifest when considering expenses such as acquiring new costumes. For example, a club may have only six Transcarpathian

costumes and cannot afford to make new ones. This may directly affect whether *Bereznianka* is chosen in any particular year.

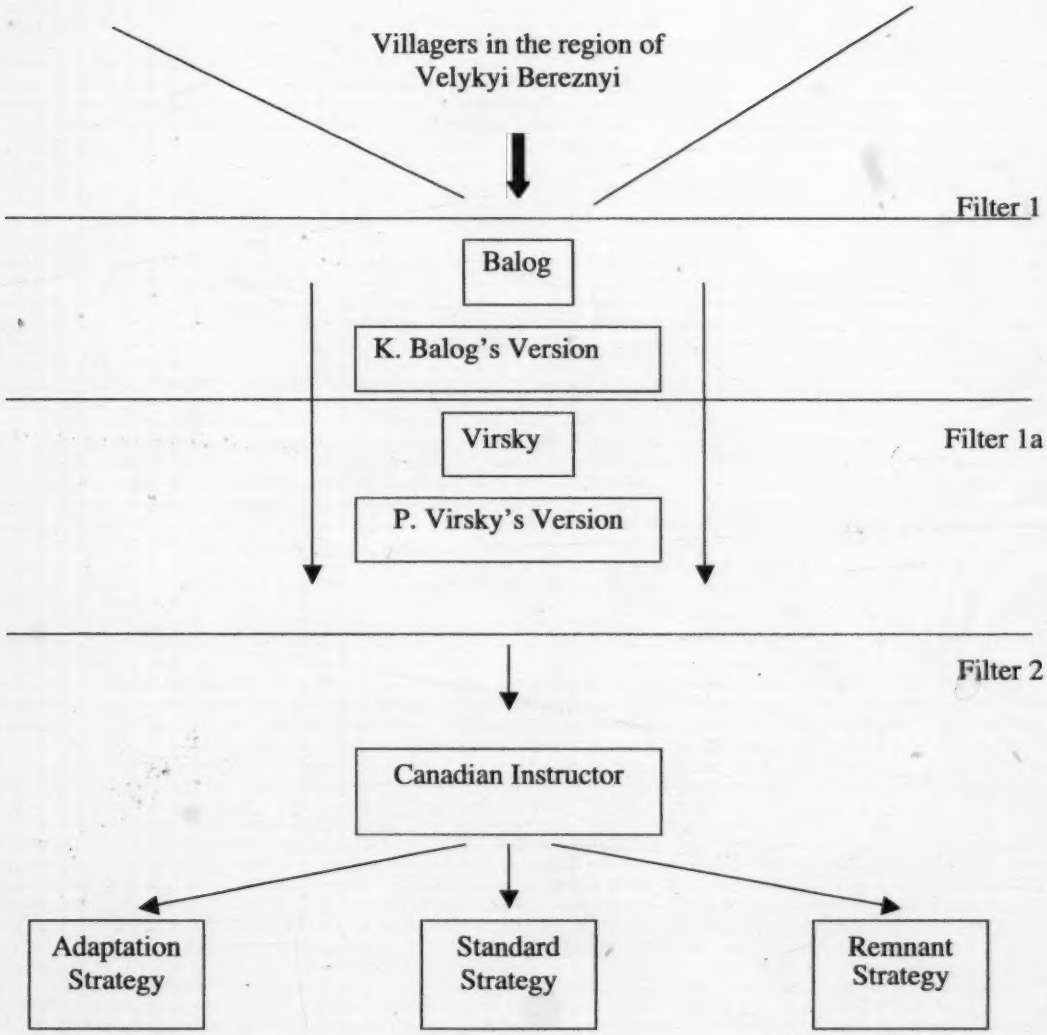
With the political-sphere, dances or strategies of *Bereznianka* may be chosen based on political or ideological thinking. It is well known that the Virsky Ensemble performed this dance. Some instructors or parents may avoid dances such as *Bereznianka* because they feel that it is connected with a Soviet style or has socialist realist tendency. They want to distance themselves as much as they can from any association with Communism and the Soviet Union. In contrast, some instructors may actively choose this dance for the very same reasons, as they value socialist realist aesthetics. Previously I discussed how some instructors hold Virsky's repertoire as the ultimate icon for Ukrainian dance. They are also most likely to feel that *Bereznianka* is a classic that should not be meddled with. These quasi-political stances may well influence instructors' decisions to stage *Bereznianka* or not.

While balancing relevant factors from the various spheres of influence, the instructor selects dances and variations on these dances that are useful to him or her in that particular cultural context. Final decisions made by the instructor are influenced by personal experiences, background, training, talent , available source material, and the practical realities in that context.

With the Standard strategy, the instructor's creativity is not fore grounded. He or she is staging a "pre-choreographed" dance and the art-sphere is not strongly emphasized. In these situations, the instructor tends to focus on the recreational, cultural and training spheres. With either the Remnant or Adaptation strategy, the instructor must engage his or her own creativity to a greater degree and may focus less on the other spheres. From

personal experience, I realize that time spent on developing a dance, experimenting with form and complexity, generally implies less time spend on the culture-sphere, instructing the dancers on the details and nuances of the dance, region and cultural background. Although the dance may gain recognition from the community for its creative or unique elements, it may not be as strong in its fidelity to the source culture. The Remnant and Adaptation strategies may satisfy the instructors' urge for creativity as well as the dancers' hunger for "complex" and "new" choreography. The dancers may have fun learning a dance using any of the strategies and satisfaction from having a challenge and perhaps ultimately receiving a gold medal.

Depending on the community, year, age of the dancers and many other factors, one strategy might be more acceptable than the other. There is probably no decisive way of measuring how much of each sphere is relevant each time *Berezniankа* is staged. In fact one version of the dance may have a different focus each time it is performed or even each time it is rehearsed. The focus may be different for each individual dancer and for each instructor every time it is rehearsed or performed.



In the above diagram, I have highlighted filters that have affected *Bereznianka* from the time when it was a "dance-like activity" in the village of Liuta and as it has been taken into the Ukrainian Canadian dance community. An exploration of *Bereznianka* in

other contexts (in Ukraine today, in other Ukrainian diaspora communities) would undoubtedly reveal other interesting patterns.

However, I would like to draw attention to some significant differences in each context. On one hand we have rural, low technology, partially peasant European community where participation in dance was a social experience connected to weddings and other rituals. In the villages in the region of *Velykyi Bereznyi*, the dance experience was realized quite differently each time and by each individual dancer. Each dancer and musician filtered their context with their mood, their level of drunkenness and/or happiness. Each dancer in this context created choreography each time the dance was realized. At a later stage, Klara Balog and Pavlo Virsky filtered this movement material based on their personal context and values to create a dance. Their environment was striking and unique in many senses. Later, we have a 21st century Ukrainian community in Edmonton, Canada, which is mostly middle class, urban, with a consumer economy, where the participants are well educated and Ukrainian dance participation is largely a once a week activity related to identity. In contemporary Ukrainian Canadian dance, the individual performers are not free to express themselves as the village wedding guests were. The creative element is transferred to the instructors. Each instructor filters the material through his or her own personal thoughts. Connections between the various contexts are mostly weak and unidirectional from the former community to the latter. The connection is mostly symbolic.

Conclusion: Towards Symbolic

In the vival dance context, the dance-like activity symbolizes the role of the groomsmen, joy, status and a festive atmosphere. However all of these signifieds are quite diffuse. This is in strong contrast with the staged dance *Bereznianka*, which has a more clearly defined signifier and signified.

It may appear that there are innumerable variables to consider when trying to understand why a particular dance leader might choose a particular strategy and stage *Bereznianka*. The six spheres of influence I have described for this community are each relevant, but strongly intertwined. There is one thread of consistency that can be gleaned from this complex set of variables. With each strategy and in every situation, *Bereznianka* symbolizes Transcarpathia to one degree or another. From a semiotic perspective, one could say that *Bereznianka* is the signifier and Transcarpathia is the most common signified.

When *Bereznianka* first became a dance on the stages of Uzhhorod, it symbolized a wedding from the cluster of villages near Velykyi Bereznyi and/or Lemko culture. From the perspective of Kyiv and in Canada however, that designation was too specific. Ukraine has some 35,000 villages, and perhaps thousands of unique clusters that can be differentiated from the villagers' points of view. From a greater distance, it is asking too much to expect audience members to find this meaningful. On stage, Ukrainian dance groups typically have the ability to perform twelve to sixteen dances during a concert. Only five or six regions are required or desired to demonstrate the diversity of Ukrainian culture. Audience members need to feel that they are in command of this regional diversity, and to feel confident that their knowledge encompasses the important aspects

of their whole nation. Only ten to fifteen regions have developed a profile in Ukrainian stage dance beyond their own borders. Too much ethnographic differentiation gives audience members the impression that the diversity is too great to ever understand, or that they do not know their own national culture. This sense decreases the value of each regional symbol and more importantly, it dilutes the ultimate goal of presenting the regional variations as a validation of Ukrainian unity. Ukrainian unity is very important in Kyiv, where audience members are typically generally aware of the geography of their country. It is doubly important in Canada, where audiences typically have less background knowledge.

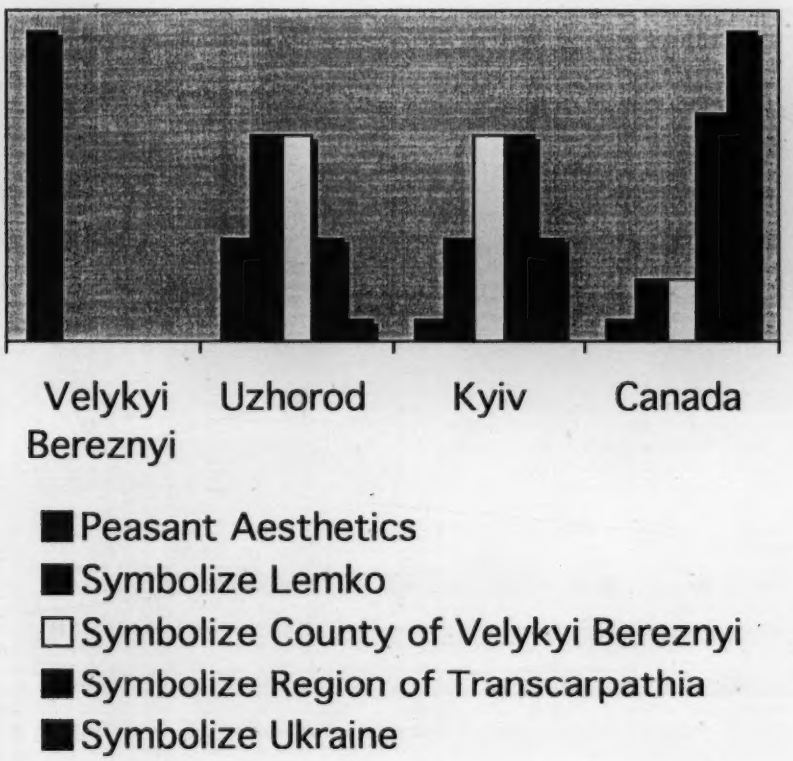


Figure 25. Chart outlining what *Bereznianka* symbolizes in various contexts: the signified.

One of the byproducts of the process whereby a dance becomes a symbol is that the ethnographic region becomes conflated with the administrative unit. The political boundaries of the province of Transcarpathia are easy to see on a map, and outsiders can imagine that these people all have common cultural attributes. Not only has *Bereznianka* become a signifier of the entire province of Transcarpathia, in some situations the signified becomes even less specific, and the dance starts to refer to Ukraine in general. *Bereznianka* may symbolize any of the above people or places.

The process of conflating the ethnographic region with the provincial boundaries was quite clear in the map of the ethnographic museum in Uzhhorod reproduced in Figure 4. It is also reflected in the mandate of the Transcarpathian Folk Song and Dance Ensemble to develop repertoire that represented all the areas within the province. In Canada, where the majority of audience members, dancers, parents, and even instructors have a weaker understanding of Ukrainian geography, the convergence of the ethnographic and the provincial boundaries is more complete. *Bereznianka* is quite comfortably a symbol of Transcarpathian (provincial and ethnographic) culture. Not all instructors and parents, and probably a minority of dancers and very few spectators could identify Transcarpathia on a map. Very few have been there, or can tell which villages are in the mountains and which ones are on the plain. Partly for this reason, the use of generic Transcarpathian costumes is not problematic in Canada.

CONTEXT

#	Group	Instructor	Name of Dance	When	Where	Music
1	Virsky	Pavlo Virsky/Klara Balog	Bereznianka	1995	Palatz Ukrainy, Kyiv	Virsky Orchestra
2	Cheremosh	Lawrence Kenakin	Bereznianka	1979	Jubilee Auditorium Edmonton	Edmonton Symphony Orchestra
3	Sopilka	Ken Kachmar	Bereznianka	1995	Vegreville	Recording of Virsky Orchestra
4	Zoloto	unknown	Bereznianka	1994	Dauphin Ukrainian Festival	Recording of Virsky Orchestra
5	Athabasca	Debbie Kachmar	Bereznianka	2004	School Gym	Ron Cahute
6	Vitrak	Tim & Cindy Baydala	Zakarpatska Bereznianka	2002	Community Hall in Vegreville	Recording of Virsky Orchestra
7	Shumka School	Dave Ganert	Bereznianka	2004	Local Edmonton Theatre	Recording of Virsky Orchestra
8	Troyanda	Ken Kachmar	"Transcarpathia Dance	2004	Grande Prairie School Gym	Bubnar'skyi by Cheremosh
9	Dance Unlimited	Doug Rachinski	Robit' Rak	2004	Sherwood Park	Tropotianka by Ron Cahute
10	Vohon	Ken Kachmar	Pryvit	1994	Local Edmonton Theatre	Tropotianka by Ron Cahute
11	Barvinok	Trevor Shular	Bereznianka	2006	Local Theatre Calgary	Recording of Virsky Orchestra
12	St. Basils	Teresa Bayrock	Trans Dance	2006	Local Edmonton Theatre	Recording of Virsky Orchestra
13	Muzyka	Trish Kushniruk	Bereznianka	2004	Local Peace River Theatre	Recording of Virsky Orchestra
14	Spirit River	Krystal Smith	Trans Solo	2007	School Gym Spirit River	*Rakovetskyi Kruchenyi* by Ron Cahute
15	Muzyka	Trish Kushniruk	Trans Solo	2007	Local Peace River Theatre	Trans Music from CD "Colours of Dance"
16	St. Paul Desna	Shane Gibson	Trans Dance	2007	Local St. Paul Theatre	Trans Music from CD "Colours of Dance"
17	Vermillion Samosvit	Shane Gibson	Trans Dance	2007	Local Vermillion Theatre	Trans Music from CD "Colours of Dance"

Figure 26. Chart outlining CONTEXT of Bereznianka variations

	FORM						
#	Group	Name of Dance	# of Dancers	Age of Dancers	Props	Costume	Length of Music
1	Virsky	Bereznianka	10 couples	18-40	sticks hankies	stylized for stage	3:35
2	Cheremosh	Bereznianka	8 couples	17 - 35	sticks hankies	Based on Virsky	2:42
3	Sopilka	Bereznianka	6 girls 4 boys	14 - 18	sticks hankies	Generic	3:35
4	Zoloto	Bereznianka	6 girls 6 boys	16 - 35	sticks hankies	Generic	3:35
5	Athabasca	Bereznianka	8 girls 2 boys	12 - 15	sticks hankies	Generic	3:15
6	Vitrak	Zakarpatska Bereznianka	10 girls 6 boys	30's - 40's	sticks hankies	Generic	3:46
7	Shumka School	Bereznianka	11 girls 4 boys	9-11	Hankies	Generic	2:34
8	Troyanda	"Transcarpathi an Dance"	5 girls 1 boy	11-15	nothing	Generic	2:45
9	Dance Unlimited	Robit' Tak	5 boys 9 girls	9-11	1 stick	Generic	3:00
10	Vohon	Pryvit	3 girls 3 boys	17 - 25	3 sticks	Generic	2:00
11	Barvinok	Bereznianka	5 girls	8 - 9	nothing	Generic	3:01
12	St. Basils	Trans Dance	5 boys 2 girls	8 - 9	nothing	Generic	3:24
13	Muzyka	Bereznianka	3 girls	12 - 15	nothing	Generic	2:42
14	Spirit River	Trans Solo	1 girl	16	nothing	Generic	1:55
15	Muzyka	Trans Solo	1 girl	15	nothing	Generic	1:59
16	St. Paul Desna	Trans Dance	5 girls 1 boy	12-16	nothing	Generic	3:20
17	Vermillion Samosvit	Trans Dance	6 females	20's 40's	nothing	Generic	3:20

Figure 27. Chart outlining FORM of Bereznianka variations: the signifier.

Another interesting phenomenon is observable after the selection of particular strategies within the Canadian context. It is not necessarily the entire dance that symbolizes or signifies Transcarpathia but sometimes only selected aspects of it act as the

signifier. As I have shown, in some cases, use of the music is sufficient to symbolize Transcarpathia. In other cases, the props take on this function. By far the strongest symbol of Transcarpathia however, is the main *Bereznianka* step. However, any one of the following items: the name of dance, the stick, the music and the costume can become a signifier of Transcarpathia.

In exploring these dances, I had expected to discover that the dances would be considered less traditional as they became further removed from the Standard or Virsky version. That however was not the case. Dancers, choreographers, parents and observers seem to accept all versions as *Bereznianka*. What is important is that the dance symbolically represents Transcarpathia. The community is eager to stay connected to its cultural and historical heritage, and if even only symbolically so, then that seems to satisfy them. Indeed, *Bereznianka* seems to have a general reputation for being quite a traditional Ukrainian dance, with stronger roots in the village than many others.

Other Transcarpathian stage dances have also made their way to Canada, including *Dubotanets* and *Tropotianka*. They have not become as popular as *Bereznianka*. As I mentioned earlier, the Virsky ensemble has often performed *Bereznianka* in Canada, and their videos and music are readily available. This makes it very convenient to use this dance. The Virsky ensemble does not perform any other independent Transcarpathian dance. In a way, *Bereznianka* won a "brand war" over its competitors. Nike may not make the best shoes, IBM may not make the best computers and maybe Coke is not the best cola, but each of these companies have perhaps won marketing battles that have given them a large part of the market share. Many other

companies copy them. Similarly, *Bereznianka* has won the battle for the most popular Transcarpathian dance to copy.

The unfortunate thing about *Bereznianka's* popularity is that other interesting dances which might represent this region remain underexposed. Under the Soviet Union, ethnographic fieldwork in villages, or even contact with regional dance groups was practically impossible for Ukrainian Canadian folk dance enthusiasts. The dances to which Ukrainian Canadians were exposed during the long Soviet Period were typically not closely connected to folkloric roots. The ethnographic foundation for Ukrainian Canadian dance is strikingly weak.

Perhaps to compensate for the lack of available information on village dance, Ukrainian Canadians seem to have developed a tradition of making many creative variants of the few dances that were made available. Ukrainian Canadians choreographers reveal an ability to take what little source material they have and be creative. The original meaning of the dance that became known as *Bereznianka* may have been lost, but many Ukrainian Canadian dancers, instructors and spectators have discovered a new meaning. This new meaning matches the new context and the new cultural style of expression. It may be sufficient that a dance remain only symbolically Ukrainian because authenticity is not always the main concern for Ukrainian Canadians. It is important however that Ukrainians feel connected in some way to their heritage, even symbolically. The processes that are occurring in Ukrainian stage dance in Canada are representative of a unique ethnic art form.

I have attempted to outline the trajectory by which one dance has come to the Ukrainian Canadian Dance community and what happened to it after it arrived. I expect

that other Ukrainian dances in Canada may share many of these characteristics, while perhaps differing in a variety of ways.

If members of the Ukrainian Canadian dance community gain a deeper understanding of how one dance can exist in a variety of modes – from unselfconscious to a symbolic remnant – I imagine they may have two possible reactions. On the one hand, I would encourage them to appreciate that this dance is a previously choreographed work of art, and they are inheriting something, which has already undergone several processes of filtration. On the other hand, I hope that choreographers and clubs might start to feel more comfortable exploring some of the other stage dances from Transcarpathia. Also, let us begin looking at dances that are not yet on the common inventory list. Villages throughout Transcarpathia, and for that matter throughout Ukraine and the diaspora, hold a treasure trove of unexplored dances. There are potentially dozens of dances from Transcarpathia alone that could be explored, researched and performed. I have met choreographers in Transcarpathia that have done extensive research in other parts of the province. These dances are unknown to us in Canada. Transcarpathia is a very rich, ethnically diverse area with many cultures living side-by-side and interacting with each other sharing traditions, music and dances. Aside from dances themselves, there are many fascinating elements of folk tradition, culture and dance-like activities that may yet see a stage.

As *Bereznianka* traveled from its original setting to a new continent, the changes were significant. This dance now shares only a distant relationship with a living or vival village dance-like activity. I feel it is like a seed that has survived the journey from the old country to the new one. This seed has been transplanted and now grows in a new

space. The dance looks different, it sounds different and it has a different meaning. You could almost say the dance has been genetically modified!

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Appendix A

This is Andriy Humeniuk's description of the dance "*Vesilnyi*". A pre-cursor to the dance Bereznianka.

For steps that are in brackets, please refer to glossary at the bottom of the section

Introduction
This dance includes 16 participants.
Young people are gathering for a wedding. One group of boys find themselves by the first right wing, the other group is by the first left wing. The girls are also standing by the third wing on both the left and right sides. They come out walking plainly on the 12 counts of the musical introduction.
On counts 9-12, from each group emerges one young man. They walk plainly to the centre of the stage, exchange their sticks and go stand by the second wing, close to the centre of the stage.

20 measures
Musical Section #1

On counts 1-14, the girls standing on the right side begin to move with their left leg and those on the lift side begin with their right leg. They execute the movements characteristic of this dance: three steps in 6th position – one group with the right, one – group with the left. The right arm in first position moves slightly in a triple movement to the right and to the left. The movement of the head mimics the movement of the arm. The left hand in extended down.

The girls surround the boys, in two small semi circles
(See Diagram 329)
On counts 1-14, the solo boys raise their sticks high with their right hand and execute *<<Zakarpat'ska Dribushka>>* on the spot.
On counts 15-20, the girls while repeating the previous movement, move from the semi circles into one line at the back of the stage with faces to the audience.
On counts 15-20, the soloist boys, plainly walk to the group of boys by the first wing (one goes to the right and the other goes to the left) and stand in their places.
(Diagram 330)
All the other boys, during the section 1 of the music, actively observe the dancers

Схема 329

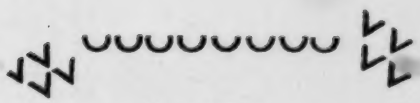


Схема 330

I Figure
20 measures
Musical Section #2

On counts 1-8, doing *<<Zakarpat'ska Dribushka>>*, girls maintaining a line, they go to the front of the stage, holding hands. The boys, being called to dance, one at a time, on every count while doing a variation of *<<Zakarpat'ska Dribushka>>* come to the front of the stage in front of the girls with faces to the audience (boys standing by the left wing start with the left leg, while boys standing by the right wing, start with the right leg). The stick is being held in the right hand and on count 1, they make and accent with the stick. On the end of the 8th count, the boys turn around and face the girls.
(See Diagram 331)
On counts 9-12, the girls, without changing their arm positions do <<pidskok>>
On counts 9-10, boys do *<<Zakarpat'ska Dribushka>>*
On counts 11-12 boys do *<< Bokova Prysiakda>>*
On counts 13-14, girls do run with jumps to the right, hands on the waist and stand one behind the other with the right shoulder to the audience, facing the right wing. Boys do *<< Pidskok z vidstavlianniam nohy na piat'ky>>* and stand with the left shoulder to the audience
On counts 15-16, everyone trade places: the girls go in the intervals between the boys, doing *<< Perestupannia z pidskokom pravoruch>>*
The boys do a variation of *<<Zakarpat'ska Dribushka>>* while turning to the right
(See Diagram 332)
On counts 17-18, the girls do 4 *<< Krok z pidstybuvanniam>>* to the right, on count 17 they lift their right arms to the sky, on count 18, they return their arms down. In this way they finish, one behind the other with their left should to the audience.
On count <<1and>>, the boys do a little hop in 6th position, both arms are holding the staff in a horizontal position;
On count 2, they jump on both legs, they raise the staff with two hands in a horizontal position to the sky;
On <<and>> they again jump on the spot and bring down the staff.
On count 18 they repeat count 17.

On counts 19-20, they do 4 <<*Krok z pidstybuvanniam*>> with a turn to the right, the girls go into the intervals between the boys and stand beside them with left shoulder to the audience.
The boys do <<*pidskok z vidstavlianniam nohy na piat'ky*>>on the spot and change the stick to the left hand.

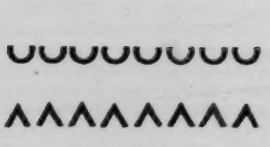


Схема 331

Схема 332

Схема 333

Figure II
20 measures
Musical Section #3

On counts 1-18, every boy takes a girl with his right hand around her waist and the remaining arms are down beside the body.
The dancers do <<*Zakarpat'ska Dribushka*>>. And in pairs they travel in a circle.
(See Diagram 333)
On counts 19-20, the dancers facing each other make a turn. On the end of count 20, the girl and the boy find themselves side by side facing counter clockwise.
(See Diagram 334)

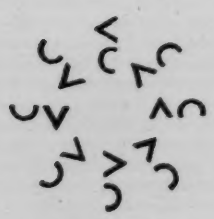


Схема 334

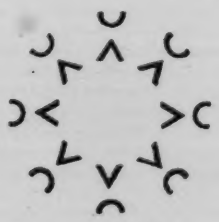


Схема 335

Figure III
20 measures
Musical Section #4 (Note: this musical section is not in the book)

On count 1, the boys raise the stick up high, holding the staff in their left hand. Moving with their left shoulder forward, directly to the centre of the circle
On count <<one>>, they take a step forward with their left leg;
On count <<two>>, the right leg comes to the left in 6th position, and bend slightly on them.
On counts <<2and>>, repeat what was done on <<1>> and
On count 2, that movement, the boys do counter clockwise
On counts 3-4, boys do <<*Bokova Prysiakda*>> The left hand remains in the centre of the circle in 2nd position
The girls on counts 1-4, the girls turn over their right shoulder, looking away from the centre of the circle.
On counts 5-8, while continuing the previous movements, as on counts 1 & 2, the boys complete the circle, return to their spot and stand facing their girl. On counts 5-6, the girls do <<*pidskok z vidstavlianniam nohy na piat'ky*>> (with their backs to the circle), on counts 7-8 they do 4 <<*Krok z pidstybuvanniam*>> while turning.
On the first beat of the 7th count, lift-up the right arm;
On the first beat of the eighth count, put it back down. The left arm remains down. On the second ¼ of the 8th count, the girls stand facing the boys.
(See Diagram 335)
On counts 1-8, the pair that is standing down stage centre, leads the circle into a spiral. The girl goes first the dancers make a spiral in a counter clockwise direction. While the dancers are making a spiral, the first boy who is standing with the first girl, raises his stick high in the air.
(See Diagram 336)
On counts 1-2 and 5-6, everyone does <<*Zakarpat'ska Dribushka*>>moving starting on the right leg. On counts 3-4 and 7-8, everyone does << *Preminyi Krok*>> moving.
On counts 9-10, without changing the step, they put their hands on each others shoulders. The dancers on the outside of the spiral, slightly tilt their bodies and head forward, while those dancers in the centre, keep the bodies upright.
On counts 11-12, the dancers do balance to the right and to the left. They hold the stick in the middle with both hands.
On counts 13-14, the boys and girls exchange positions doing 4 << *Krok z pidstybuvanniam*>>
On counts 15-20, the dancers do a turn. On the last count they finish with all dancers standing facing the centre of the circle. The boys are holding the stick in their right hand. All dancers are holding hands.

Схема 336

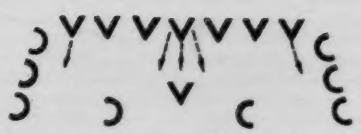


Схема 337

Figure IV
20 measures
Musical Section #2

On counts 1-8, the boys (one group with the left leg and one group with the right), spread out wide on the stage, all the while looking at the audience. Starting with the right leg they do *<<Zakarpat'ska Dribushka>>*, with the left leg *<<pidskok z vidstavlianniam nohy na piat'ky>>*. The soloist repeats the movements of all the boys, only on the 8th count goes back and stands behind the line of boys.
On counts 9-10, the soloist boy jump over the line of boys, which at this time are bending
On counts 11-12, the soloists jumps high in the air in the middle of the stage, the right leg in front, the left leg – to the back, the staff is held in the right hand up in the air.
On counts 13-14, the boy does *<<pidskok z vidstavlianniam nohy na piat'ky>>*
On counts 15-18, the boy repeats the movements of counts 11-14.
On counts 19-20, the soloist, takes the ends of the stick, and jumps over it in 6th position.
On counts 9-10, the 2 soloist girls, who came to the front of the stage, stand facing one another (shoulders to the audience) and do a variation of *<<pidskok z vidstavlianniam nohy na piat'ky>>*, one girl starts with the left leg and the other starts with the right.
<<Diagram 337>>
On count 11, the dancers, sit in a plie, in 6th position and look at the soloist boy, who at this time is jumping.
On count 12, they stand from their plie and disconnect hands and put them down
On counts 13-14 the soloist girls make a turn to the right.
On counts 1 and, they stand in releve on the right leg.
On counts 2 and, they bring the left leg to the right one.
On counts 15-16, they repeat the movements of counts 11-12
On counts 17-18, they execute the movements of counts 13-14.
On counts 19-20, the soloist girls, beginning from the right leg do *<<Zakarpat'ska Dribushka>>*, and turn to the right.
On counts <<1and>> fall onto the right leg
On counts 2 and, they bring the left leg to the right one.
On count 9, the boys, after 8 counts, take the stick in their left hand and sit, one after the other on their left knee (left shoulder to the audience), the head is tilted forward.
On count 1, they sit on their left knee, beat the staff on the floor

On count and, they lift the staff in front of them.
On count 2, they again hit the floor with the staff and then lift it into the air.
On count 10 they do the same thing again.
On count 11, on the first beat, they stand on their right leg in a dem-plie position.
On and, the left leg, which is slightly behind, does a stamp
On two, the right leg does a stamp
On and, the left leg does a stamp. The weight of the body is on the right leg, they fall on to the right leg
On count 12, repeat count 11
On count 13, the boys stand facing the audience.
On one and, they step to the side on the right leg, and they lift the left leg in the air.
On two they bring their legs together
On count 14, repeat the movements of count 13 but with the left leg
On counts 15-20, repeat the movements of counts 9-14
On count 9, the girls, who are standing on the right and left side, sit in a demi plie in 6th position. The girls, who stand by the right wing, the knees are facing to the right. The ones who are standing by the left wing, to the left.
All the girls hold one another by the waist and the last girl puts her hand on her hip
On one and, the girls sit to the right
On two and, they stand straight in 6th position
On count 10, do the same as count 9 but the knees face the left
On count 11, they again sit and hold this position
On count 12, the girls stand.
On count 13, they on count 1, they put their right leg to the side and lift their left leg.
On two, the left leg joins the right leg
On count 14, they repeat the movements of count 13 on with the left leg
On counts 15-20, they do the movements of counts 9-14. The head turns with the movement of the leg.

Figure V
20 measures
Musical Section #4

On counts 1-4, the 3 dancers, who are standing downstage centre move to their previous places. The boy goes, doing *<<pidskok z vidstavlianniam nohy na piat'ky>>* moving backwards to the semi-circle, and the girls move sideways doing *<<pidskok z vidstavlianniam nohy na piat'ky>>*.
They join the main group. At the same time, two boys, who are standing in the middle of the line of boys, move to the front of the stage.
On <<1>>, they do *<<Krok z pidstybuvanniam>>* forward.
On <<and>> the left leg goes to the right.
On two, the boys do *<<Krok z pidstybuvanniam>>* forward with the right leg, at the same time, the left leg is lifted front of the right at 45%, the knee bent.
On and, there is a pause
On count two, the boys repeat the movements of count one, beginning on the left leg.

On count three, the boys do <<*Prypadania*>> beginning with the left leg
On count 4, the boys do <<*Prypadania*>> on the right leg. They hold the stick in their right hands and lift it up.
On count 5, the boys return to the girls. (One to the right – the other to the left) They both nod their heads to invite the girls to dance.
On counts 6-8, they stay on the spot and one at a time, they beat the floor and shake the stick while the girls come to them.
On counts 9-10, the soloist do a turn. The boys and girls stand facing one another. The boys hold the girl on the waist.
On counts 11-12, they repeat the movements of counts 9-10
On counts 13-14, the dancers make a turn doing <<*Prypadania*>>.
On count 15, the boys let the girls go, holding the staff high with the right arm. They are left standing facing one another.
(See Diagram 338)
On counts 16-18 repeat the movements of counts 1- 4 but do it on the spot.
On counts 19-20 the dancers with their faces to the audience do <<*pidskok z vidstavlianniam nohy na piat'ky*>> go to their spots and, having arrived at the line of the boys they join with the other dancers. Both girls and boys, who stand towards the front, by the first wing, after count 6, go to the boys, also join with all the dancers.
On count 7, they run towards the boys doing <<*Preminyi Krok*>> with arms open out to the side.
On count 8, dancers do <<*Prypadania*>> with a turn on the spot, facing the boys: one to the right – the other to the left. Finishing the turn, the girls place both their hand on the boys shoulders.
On counts 9-14, they do << *Krok z prystavlianiam*>> one after the other.
On counts 15-16, they bring their arms down: the right one to first position, and the left one down to the side. They do <<*Zakarpat'ska Dribushka*>>
On count 17, lean the head and the body forward boys to the middle, the dancers on <<one>>, sit on the left leg.
On <<and>>, they stamp their right leg along side the left one
On <<two>>, the boys and girls sit on the left leg
On <<and>>, the right leg stamps next to the left one
On count 18, repeat count 17.
On counts 19-20 a boy and a girl, doing <<*Zakarpat'ska Dribushka*>> turn in their previous position (with their sides to the audience) and dance with everyone else.

During this time the boys who are standing in one line
On counts 1-4, they do <<*Zakarpat'ska Dribushka*>> on the spot
On counts 5-8, they do the same step in a turn over the right shoulder. On the first quarter of each count, they accent their sticks, which re being held in 1st position, the other hand in down.
On counts 9-10, the boys move in a gallop to the right
On counts 11-12, do the same step to the left (very small steps, almost on the spot)
On counts 13-14, boys turn to face one another (in pairs) and do one turn galloping. The stick is held high in the right hand, the left is down.

On counts 15-20, they repeat the movements of counts 9-14.

During this time the girls:
On counts 1-4 the do the step <<*Zakarpat'ska Dribushka*>>in a turn
On counts 5-8, they do the same step on the spot
On count 9, the girls on <<1>>, take a step to the right, on <<two>>, they bring the left leg together in 6th position and plie slightly.
On count 10, repeat count 9 but begin with the right leg. Everyone is holding each other behind the back and the head is turning to the right and to the left.
On counts 11-12, repeat the movements of counts 1-10. Two boys, who are standing in the sides of the stage, enter on the final count doing <<*Potrinyi Prytup*>> to the centre of the stage.

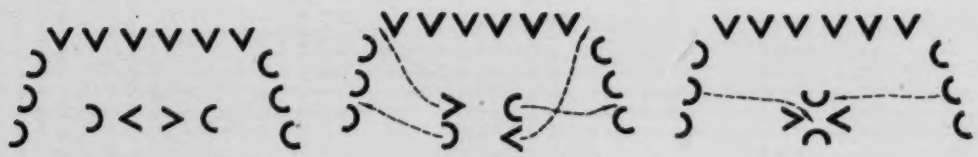


Схема 338 *Схема 339* *Схема 340*

Figure VI
20 measures
Musical Section #1

On count 1, the boys turn to face one another, and throw the stick high into the air and exchange them
On count 2, they catch the sticks
On count 3, they turn to face the audience and bend slightly forward
On <<one>>, the boys stamp the right leg on the ground
On and>>, the left leg comes to the right one
On <<two and>>, repeat the movements of <<one and>>
On count 4, repeat the movements of count 3 but keep the torso straight
On count 5, the boys, <<on one>>, step with the right leg to the side
On <<and>>, they bring the left leg to the right
On <<two>>, they stand on the right leg and lift the left leg to 45% bending at the knee
On count 6, repeat the movements of count 5 but begin with the left leg
On counts 7-8 repeats counts 3-4. Keep the body straight and raise the stick high with your right hand
On counts 9-10, two girls come up and make a small circle with the boys. The boys hold the stick in front of themselves in a horizontal position. Put the two sticks together and hold them. The girls put both their hand on top of the staff. All four of them move clockwise around the circle with a gallop.

On counts 11-12, they continue to gallop in a circle and gently sit in a demi plie
On counts 13-14, they continue to gallop on straight legs
On counts 15-20, the circle opens up and the dancers do <<*pidskok z vidstavlianniam nohy na piat'ky*>> moving to their spots.
(See Diagram 339)
The two girls, who are standing second from the audience, by the left and right wings, come out for the next solo.
On counts 1-4, they dance along with the rest of the dancers
On counts 5-6, the girls do <<*Zakarpat'ska Dribushka*>>, and go meet the boys at the centre of the stage
On counts 7-8, they do <<*Preminyi Krok*>> and stand facing the centre of the circle. The girl that came from the left wing stands with her back to the audience, and the girl that comes from the right wing stands facing the audience.
(See Diagram 340)
On counts 9-20, the girls do the same movements as the boys. At the end of the last count, all the dancers return to their previous place.
All the boys dance near the back of the stage in one line. While the last group of four is dancing, the other boys do the following: on the first count, two gallops to the right, on the second count <<*pidskok z vidstavlianniam nohy na piat'ky*>> with the right leg on count 3, two gallops to the left, on count 4, the same as count 2 only the movement begins with the left leg.
On counts 5-8, they do <<*Zakarpat'ska Dribushka*>>with a turn
On <<one>> of the 9th count, the boys do <<*Krok z pidstybuvanniam*>> with the right leg and the spot.
On <<and>> the left leg comes to the right
On <<two>> again do <<*Krok z pidstybuvanniam*>> with the right leg, at the same time the left leg is lifted in front of the right at 45%, bent at the knee
On count 10, repeat the movements of count 9 but begin with the left leg.
On count 11, the boys the boys do <<*Prypadania*>> holding the stick in the right hand close to themselves the elbow is bent. The left hand – in second position
On count 12, repeat the movements of count 11.
On counts 13-14, the boys do <<*pidskok z vidstavlianniam nohy na piat'ky*>> with the left leg
On counts 15-20 repeat the movements of counts 9-14.

Схема 341

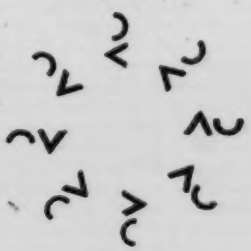


Схема 342

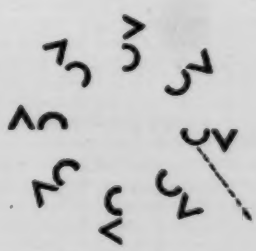


Схема 343

Figure VII

20 measures
Musical Section #2

On counts 1-8, the boy, who stands first by the 3rd wing on the left leads all the boys into a circle.
On counts 1-8, the girls, one group from the left side and the other group from the right side go to the circle of the boys and turn to face in the clockwise direction. The boys go on the inside circle in a counterclockwise direction (8 counts) All dancers do *<<Zakarpat'ska dribushka>>*, beginning with the right leg.
(See Diagram 341 and 342)
On counts 9-14, the girls close the circle and go along the circle in the same direction, hands down by their sides
On counts 15-20, they continue along the circle with plain walks beginning with the left leg. At the same time, on every "and" the right leg comes to the left.
On count 4, repeat the movements of count 3. The girls do a half turn to the left facing out of the circle and turn to face the boys, who at this time are already in the circle.
On counts 5-6, they do a turn in couples.
On counts 7-8, repeat the movements of counts 5-6. At the end of the 8th count, the dancers finish with their right shoulder to the centre of the circle as in picture 343.

The girls take one another by the hand and lean the body slightly forward.
The boys on counts 9-14, continue moving doing *<<Zakarpat'ska Dribushka>>*. They hold the stick high in their extended right hand.
On counts 15-20, the boys put their right hand into second position and their left hand is at their side with the stick in a horizontal positon.

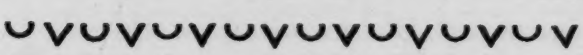


Схема 344

Figure VIII
20 measures
Musical Section #3

On the first count, maintaining the circle, girls do a plie, facing to the centre of the circle, holding hands.
On count 2 the girls let go of hands and stand up straight
On count 3, on one, the dancers stand with all their weight on their left leg; on and, the right leg comes to the left.

On two, they again stand with all their weight on the left leg. The girls have their hands at their sides. The boys hold the stick in their left hand, the right hand takes the girl behind the waist.
This movement they repeat for the next 5 counts making the circle.
On counts 9-18, the dancers go around the circle in a clockwise direction doing *<<Zakarpat'ska Dribushka>>*. The pair that stands by the second right wing, leads the couples to the centre of the stage into one line.
(See Diagram 344)
On counts 19-20, the boys and girls in pairs turn, facing each other. The girls place both hands on the shoulders of the boys. The boy places his right hand on the left shoulder of the girl and his left hand behind her back. In this position they do *<<Prypadania>>* in a circle. At the end of the last count they stand in two lines facing the audience.
(See Diagram 345)

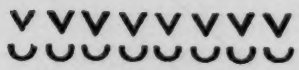


Схема 345

Figure IX
20 measures
Musical Section #4

On the first cont, the boys jump up, lifting their knees in sixth positon. On the second count, they jump over the joined hands of the girls who are at this time in plie.
Every boy jumps over the interval of his partner.
On counts 3 and 4 the dancers plie in 6th position. On the end of the last count boys turn and face the girls.
On count s 5 and 6, the boys lift the stick very high in the air with an extended right arm, and the left arm at their sides.
All dancers move forward in two lines toward the front of the stage, starting on the right leg, doing *<<Zakarpat'ska Dribushka>>*.
On count 7 and 8, everyone does *<<Pidskok z vidstavlianniam nohy na piat'ky>>*
On counts 9 and 10, repeating *<<Zakarpat'ska Dribushka>>*.
On count counts 11 and 12, repeat counts 7 and and 8.
Girls turn over the right shoulder to face the boys. Boys do this movement on the spot.
Girls place their arms on the boys shoulders. Boys also hold the girls as in the previous turn. They all do *<<Prypadania>>* while turning.

On counts 13 and 14, the pairs finish the turn: the boy, facing the audience and girl facing the boy.
On counts 15 and 16, boys, on count 1, lift the girls in the air with stretched arms. Girls, put both hands on the shoulder of the boy and lift her knees really high in 6th position.
On count 16, the boys puts the girl down on his right side. On count 17, the girl, lifts her right arm very high which is holding a handerchief. Left arm at the side and do <<*Prypadania*>> while turning.
On count 18, repeat the movement of count 17.
On counts 19 and 20, dancers in a couple, turn quickly, and sharply finish standing facing the audience. The boys right hand is around the girls waist and in his left hand he is holding the stick in front of himself.
At the finish of the musical phrase, he accents with his stick and the girl brings both her hands down.

Steps

Zakarpat'ska Dribushka
Transcarpathian Stamps
(for both males and females)
Begin with the legs in 6th position
On <<one>> of the first measure, place the right leg in front of the left and cross over putting the foot flat. The left leg does a little hop
On <<and>> do a little hop on the left leg, the right leg lifts up
On <<two>> hop onto the right leg, the left leg is stays in the air next to the right one, the left leg is slightly bent
On the second measure – do the same as the first measure on the other leg
During the movement, the head turns from right to left so that at the end of every measure it finishes centre. The body gently sways.

Variant Zakarpat'skoi Dribushka
Variation of Transcarpathian Stamps
(for both males and females) Page 72
Begin with the legs in 6th position
On <<one>> of the first measure, place the right leg in front of the left and cross over
On <<and>> do a little hop on the left leg
On <<two>> hop onto the right leg
On <<and>> do a little hop on the right leg
On the second measure, do <<potrinyi prytup>>

Potrinyi Prytup
Triple Stamp
(for both males and females) Page 67

Begin with the legs in 6th position
On <<one>> stamp with all your weight on the right leg
On <<and>> stamp with all your weight on the left leg
On <<two>> stamp with all your weight on the right leg
On <<and>> - pause
The movement can be done on the spot or moving
The arms can be in different positions

Bokova Prysiakda
Squat Kicks to the side
(males) Page 87
On <<one>> with a little hop, quickly drop down onto the balls of both feet. Keep the heels together, and the knees of both legs are to the side
On <<two>> quickly and not high, come up from the grande plie and the left leg does a little hop on the low demi point with a bent knee. Lift the right leg to the side, freely. The body is straight or slightly leaning to the left side. The glance is in the direction of the legs. The left arm is lifted to be even with the shoulder and the right arm is left on the hips.
The beginning of the next measure, the movement begins with the other leg. The direction of the body and arm obviously changes; this movement can be done on only leg. (See Picture 90)

Pidskok z vidstavlianniam nohy na piat'ky
Hop while placing the heel down
(for both males and females) Page 81
Begin with the legs in 6th position
On <<one>> hop on the left leg, place the right leg forward on the heel
On <<and>> again hop on the left leg, lift the right leg in front of you at 45 degrees, the knee is bent
On <<two>> hop onto the right leg, lift the left leg in into the air next to the right one at 45 degrees, the knee is bent
On <<and>> pause
Repeat from the beginning but on the other leg

Krok z pidstybuvanniam
Step with a jump
(for both males and females) Page 55
Begin with the legs in 6th position
On <<one>> take a step with the right leg forward onto the ball of the foot. The left leg comes off the ground and comes to the right leg without touching the floor
On <<two>> take a step with the left leg forward onto the ball of the foot. The right leg comes off the ground and comes to the left leg without touching the floor
On <<one>> of the second measure, take a step with the right leg forward onto the ball of the foot. The left leg comes off the ground and comes to the right leg without touching the floor

On <<two>> jump onto the right leg, the left leg is bent at the knee, and carried forward
Then the step is done backwards with the left leg

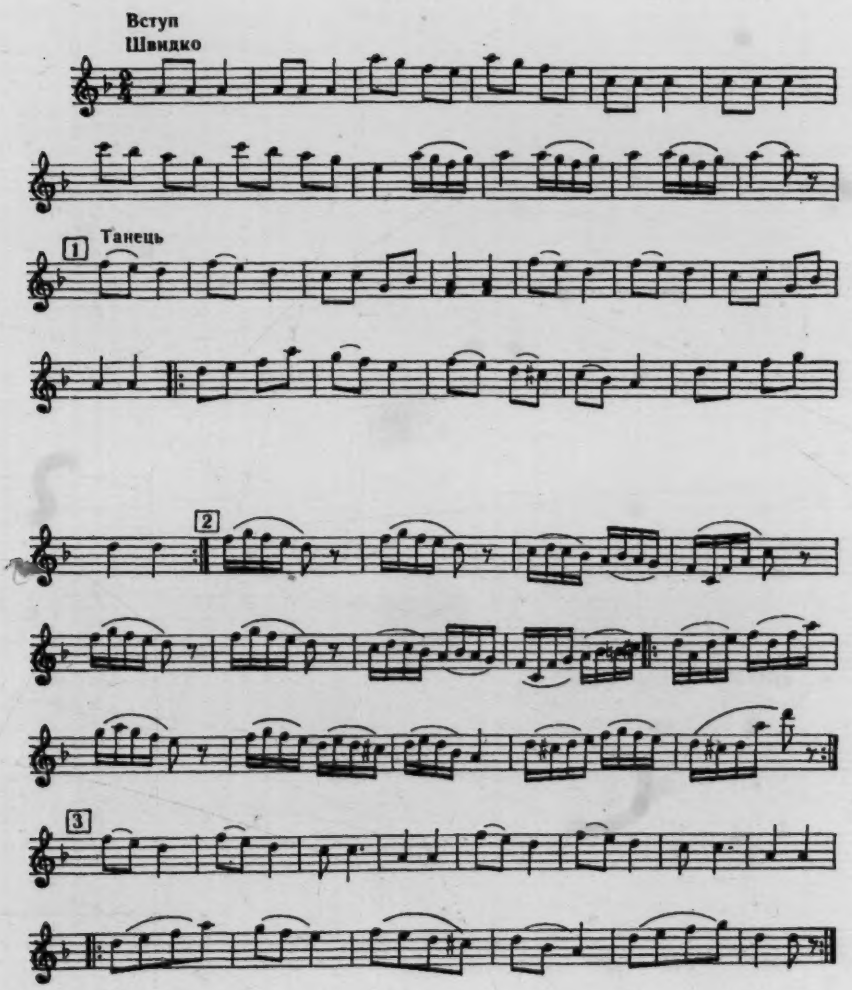
Krok z prystavlianiam
Step together
(for both males and females) Page 57
Begin with the legs in 6th position
On <<one>> step forward on the right leg
On <<and>> bring the left leg to the right.
Then repeat everything with the other leg.

Perestupannia z pidskokom pravoruch
Perestupannia with hops on the right leg
(for both males and females) Page 72
Begin with the legs in 6th position
On <<one>> place the right leg in front and across from the left
On <<and>> hop onto the left leg
On <<two>> hop onto the right leg

Preminyi Krok
(for both males and females) Page 52
This step is often done sweeping the leg along the floor. In this situation it is called Chovhunets.
Begin with the legs in 3rd position
On <<one>> take a step forward wit the right leg
On <<and>> take a small step with the left leg forward
On <<two>> a small step with the right leg forward
On <<and>> - pause
Repeat the same step with the left leg

Prypadania
(for both males and females) Page 63
Begin with the legs in 3rd position
On <<one>> with turn out, step to the right onto the whole foot, little plie. The left leg lifts off the floor and goes behind the right a little lower than the ankle bone. The left knee is bent and to the side.
On <<and>> put the left leg down on demi point behind the right leg, slightly straighten the leg from the knee.

Appendix B



Although Humeniuk describes a 4th musical section, the sheet music is not provided. I speculate that Humeniuk's musical section 4, is similar to that of the 3 solos in Virsky's version.

Appendix C - List of Videos

1. "Wedding" Bochkoryk, Ivan & Angela. (field recording) Bystryi, Romania. 1995 (BMUFA 1995.032.v2004)
2. "Wedding, Hudaki Village Band." filmed by Yuri Kazakov & Ivan Sautkin. Vodytsia, Transcarpathia. 2007. http://www.hudaki.org/images/vodicia/index.htm
3. Balog, Klara. Personal Interview. Uzhhorod, 2006. Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives (BMUFA 2008.025)
4. *Z chystykh dzherel'*. [From the pure spring, film about Klara Balog] Uzhhorod: c. 1970. (BMUFA 2008.025)
5. "*Bereznianka.*" Transcarpathian Ensemble. Uzhhorod. Instructor: Klara Balog. Uzhhorod: c. 1970. (BMUFA 2008.025)
6. "*Bereznianka*" Virsky Ukrainian Dance Ensemble. *My Ukraine 19.* Instructor: Pavlo Virsky. Kyiv: Apon. [n.d.] (BMUFA 1998.012.v1004)
7. "*Bereznianka.*" *Cheremosh Ukrainian Dance Company.* (field recording) Instructor: Lawrence Kenakin. Edmonton: Jubilee Auditorium, 1979. (BMUFA 1998.023.v1015)
8. "*Bereznianka.*" Sopilka Ukrainian Dancers. (field recording) Vegreville. Instructor: Ken Kachmar. 1995. (BMUFA 2008.025)
9. "*Bereznianka.*" Zoloto Ukrainian Dancers. (field recording) Dauphin. Instructor: unknown. 1994. (BMUFA 1994.023.v1021)
10. "*Bereznianka.*" Athabasca Ukrainian Dancers. (field recording) Athabasca. Instructor: Debbie Kachmar. (BMUFA 2008.025)

11. "*Zakarpatska Berenyanka.*" Vitrak Ukrainian Dancers. Vegreville. Instructor: Tim & Cindy Baydala. 2002. (BMUFA 2008.025)

12. "*Bereznianka.*" Shumka School of Dance. Edmonton. Instructor: Dave Ganert. Drew FX Productions, 2004. (BMUFA 2008.025)

13. "Transcarpathian Dance." Troyanda Ukrainian Dancers. (field recording). Grande Prairie. Instructor: Ken Kachmar. 2004. (BMUFA 2008.025)

14. "Robit' Tak. Dance Unlimited. Sherwood Park: Festival Place. Instructor: Doug Rachinski. Bega Video L@B. 2003. (BMUFA 2008.025)

15. "Pryvit." Vohon Ukrainian Dancers. Visions '94. Sherwood Park. Instructors: Debbie & Ken Kachmar. 1994. (BMUFA 2008.025)

16. "Transcarpathian Dance." Barvinok Ukrainian Dancers. Calgary. Instructor: Trevor Shular. 2006. (BMUFA 2008.025)

17. "Transcarpathian Dance." St. Basil's Ukrainian Dance Club. Edmonton. Instructor: Trisha Bayrock. Drew FX Productions, 2006. (BMUFA 2008.025)

18. "Bereznianka." Muzyka Ukrainian Dancers. (field recording). Peace River Muzyka Dancers. Instructor: Trish Kushniruk. 2006. (BMUFA 2008.025)

19. "Transcarpathian Solo." Spirit River Ukrainian Dancers. (field recording). Spirit River. Performed by Cassandra Reid. Instructor: Krystal Smith. 2008. (BMUFA 2008.025)

20. "Transcarpathain Solo." Muzyka Ukrainian Dancers. (field recording). Peace River Alberta. Performed by: Kaitlyn Jonk. Instructor: Trish Kushniruk. 2007. (BMUFA 2008.025)

21. "Transcarpathian Dance." St. Paul Desna Ukrainian Dancers (field recording). St. Paul. Instructor: Shane Gibson. 2007. (BMUFA 2008.025)

22. "Transcarpathian Dance." Samosvit Ukrainian Dancers. (field recording) Vermillion. Instructor: Shane Gibson. 2007. (BMUFA 2008.025)